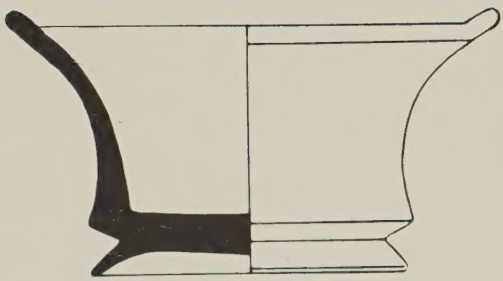


COSA: BLACK-GLAZE POTTERY

DORIS TAYLOR BISHOP

Chairman, Department of Classics

Wheaton College, 1955-1968

Archaeologist

1917 - 1969

J. DAVID BISHOP

Professor of Classics

WHEATON COLLEGE

NORTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/publiiovidiinaso0003jame

PUBLII OVIDII NASONIS
FASTORUM LIBRI SEX
The *Fasti* of Ovid

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA · MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO
DALLAS · SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

PUBLII OVIDII NASONIS
FASTORUM LIBRI SEX

The *Fasti* of Ovid

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER

O.M., F.R.S., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. III

COMMENTARY ON BOOKS III. AND IV

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1929

PA
6519
F2
1929
V.3

COPYRIGHT

WHEATON COLLEGE LIBRARY
NORTON, MASS.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, EDINBURGH

151398

136

CONTENTS

COMMENTARY ON BOOK III

PAGES

THE MONTH OF MARCH 1-161

COMMENTARY ON BOOK IV

THE MONTH OF APRIL 163-421

BOOK III

The Month of March

III. 1. **Come, warlike Mars; lay down thy shield and spear.**—Though Mars has been most commonly conceived both in antiquity and in modern times as a god of war, there are good grounds for thinking that originally this was not his only nor even his principal function. In his treatise on farming, Cato the Elder, a pattern Roman of the olden time, puts in the mouth of the farmer a prayer to Father Mars that he would ward off disease, bad weather, and other calamities from the farm; that he would cause the fruits of the earth, the corn, the vines, and the copses to grow and prosper; that he would keep the shepherds and the cattle safe; and that he would bestow health and strength on the farmer himself, his family and household; and in order to induce the deity to grant his prayer, the farmer begged Father Mars to accept the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull, which were first led in procession round the fields.[1] Further, Cato instructed the farmer how to make a vow and an offering to Mars Silvanus for the cattle, in order that the animals should be well and strong.[2] Thus we may safely conclude that Mars was the god to whom above all others the Roman farmer looked for help in promoting the growth of the crops and preserving the health of man and beast. We can therefore understand why the Arval Brethren, whose special function was "to make the fields bear fruit",[3] should have addressed their solemn prayers principally to Mars.[4] The

[1] Cato, *De agri cultura*, 141. [2] Cato, *De agri cultura*, 83.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 85, "*Fratres arvales dicti qui sacra publica faciunt propterea ut fruges ferant arva*".

[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5039 (vol. ii. pars i. p. 276); J. Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin* (Oxford, 1874), p. 158.

old agricultural aspect of Mars has been duly recognized by some modern scholars, though they differ as to the exact way in which this side of his nature is to be reconciled with his warlike character. Perhaps the view of the sound scholar William Ramsay comes as near the truth as any. He wrote: "Nor are these attributes so irreconcileable as they might at first appear to be. We must bear in mind that when Italy was portioned out among a multitude of small independent tribes, many of them differing from each other in origin and language, forays must have been as common among neighbouring states, as they were in the days of our ancestors on the English border and the Highland frontier. The husbandman would be compelled to grasp the sword with one hand while he guided the plough with the other, and would be often forced to peril life and limb to save the produce of his toil from the spoiler. In such a state of society it is little wonderful that the Deity of the rustic should have presented a mixed character, and have been worshipped as one who could protect his votaries from every form of danger to which they were exposed." [1]

III. 4. **From thee the month which now I sing doth take its name.**—The usual Roman belief seems to have been that Romulus named the month of March (*Martius*) after his father Mars.[2] But the learned and sagacious Varro held that, while the month was certainly named after Mars, the reason for it was, not that Mars was the father of Romulus, but that the Latins were a martial people; for in his view the Roman names of the months were older than the foundation of Rome and had been borrowed by the Romans from

[1] W. Ramsay, *Ovid, Selections for the Use of Schools*, edited by George G. Ramsay (Oxford, 1868), p. 182. On the agricultural aspect of Mars see further W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 160 *sqq.*; W. H. Roscher, *Apollon und Mars* (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 64 *sqq.*; *id.*, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2412 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Mars"; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 333 *sqq.*; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 34 *sq.*; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 132 *sq.*; Cyril Bailey, *Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum liber iii.* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 36 *sqq.* On the other hand Wissowa holds that Mars was for the Romans never anything else than a war-god (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 143).

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 9; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 19, *Numa*, 19. 2; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43; Isidore, *Origines*, v. 33. 5 (who gives as an alternative an absurd derivation from *mas*, "male").

their Latin kinsfolk.[1] The same view, which is probably correct, was held by the learned grammarian, Verrius Flaccus, as we gather from a note on March in the Praenestine calendar; for, as we have already seen,[2] all the notes in that calendar are almost certainly from the hand of Verrius Flaccus. The note in question runs thus: "March is named after the war-god of the Latins; accordingly the same month existed among the Albans and most Latin peoples before the foundation of Rome. As others believe, however, it was (so named) because sacred rites are celebrated in his honour in this month."[3] To the same effect there is a note in Festus, that "the month of March was the beginning of the year both in Latium and after the foundation of Rome, because that race was most warlike".[4] The view that the month of March (*Martius*) was common to the other peoples of Latium is confirmed by the evidence, cited by Ovid later on,[5] of its occurrence in the calendars of other Latin peoples; and the supposition that they borrowed the name of the month from Rome seems excluded by the observation that the month occupied different places in the calendars of the various towns. Thus there can be little doubt that Varro was right in thinking that the month of March was older than the foundation of Rome. We must always remember that by comparison with other Latin towns Rome was a modern and upstart city.

III. 9. **when the Roman priestess captivated thee.**—The Roman priestess is Silvia the Vestal, whom Ovid mentions immediately. Mr. Cyril Bailey thinks that the verb (*cepit*) should be translated "embraced" rather than "captivated". This would, no doubt, give a very appropriate sense in the present passage; but on the other hand the use of *capere* with reference to the captivation or fascination of love is so common in Latin poets, including Ovid himself, that

[1] Varro, quoted by Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 10-11; compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33.

[2] Above, note on *Fasti*, i. 290 (Vol. II. pp. 130 *sq.*).

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 286, "*Martius ab Latinorum <deo bel>landi, itaque apud Albanos et plerosque <po>pulos Lat<in>os idem fuit ante conditam Romam. Ut a<u>tem alii cre<du>nt, quod et (ei) sacra fiunt hoc mense*". A somewhat different, and probably less correct, restoration of the note was given *ib.* p. 233.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Martius", p. 136 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 87-96.

it seems best to adhere to that meaning in the present passage.[1]

III. 11. **Silvia the Vestal (for why not start from her?) went in the morning to fetch water to wash the holy things.**— Setting out to explain why the month of March was named after Mars, and why it was originally the first month of the Roman year, Ovid begins at the beginning by relating how the Vestal Virgin Silvia was loved by Mars and gave birth to Romulus, the founder of Rome. He has already told the story in a different form in an earlier part of the poem.[2] The repetition is one of the indications that the poet did not finally revise the latter part of the work.

It was one of the duties of the Vestal Virgins to fetch water daily for use in the offices of religion. The water had always to be drawn from a spring or a river; they were forbidden to use water that was brought through pipes.[3] They carried the water in earthenware pitchers on their heads, or at least were believed to have done so in the olden time.[4] At Rome the spring from which the Vestals drew water was in the Grove of Egeria, outside the Capene Gate.[5] At Lavinium the water for the service of Vesta might only be drawn from the river Numicius.[6] In the present passage, in which the poet is speaking of a time before Rome was built,

[1] For examples see Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 416, ii. 585 (where, however, the reading is uncertain), iii. 499, vi. 119, *Metamorph.* xiv. 373, *Amores*, ii. 19. 10, iii. 2. 40, *Ars amat.* ii. 145; Lucretius, i. 15 ("*capta lepore*"); Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 189 ("*capta cupidine*"); Propertius, i. 1. 1 ("*cepit ocellis*"), ii. 3. 9, ii. 9. 24, ii. 15. 15, iii. 10. 15; Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 633 ("*cepit amore*"). In one place, where Statius seems to have imitated the present passage of Ovid, he uses the verb *cepisset* in a way which leaves it doubtful whether he meant "captivated" or "embraced", but where the context seems rather to favour the meaning "embraced", and therefore to support Mr. Bailey's interpretation of *cepit* in the present passage of Ovid. See Statius, *Sylv.* i. 2. 191-193:

> "*Quis septemgeminae posuisset moenia Romae*
> *Imperii Latiale caput, nisi Dardana furto*
> *Cepisset Martem, nec me prohibente, sacerdos?*"

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 383 *sqq.*

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Muries", p. 152 ed. Lindsay, "*Virgines Vestales . . aquam iugem, vel quamlibet, praeterquam quae per fistulas venit, addunt. atque ea demum in sacrificiis utuntur*". Compare Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 53, "*Virgines Vestales aqua e fontibus amnibusque hausta perluere*".

[4] Propertius, v. (iv.) 4. 15-16.

[5] Plutarch, *Numa*, 13. 2. As to the spring and its situation see Livy, i. 21. 3; Juvenal, iii. 10-20, and note on *Fasti*, vi. 249 (Vol. IV. pp. 173 *sq.*).

[6] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 150.

the reference is to a spring near Alba Longa, the metropolis of Rome. There the spring from which the Vestals drew water for the sacred rites is said to have been in a grove of Mars, and it was there, according to tradition, that Silvia met her divine lover.[1] The order of the Vestal Virgins existed at Alba Longa before the foundation of Rome,[2] and continued to exist there all through the Republic down into late Imperial times.[3] At the trial of Milo in 52 B.C. for the murder of Clodius the Alban Vestals gave evidence that a woman unknown had come to them to pay the vow which the pious ruffian Milo had made to the gods for the murder of the other ruffian Clodius.[4] Juvenal tells us that in his time, at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of our era, the Vestal fire still burned among the ruins of Alba.[5] From inscriptions we learn that among the Alban Vestals, as among the Roman Vestals, one ranked as Senior (*Maxima*).[6] But the institution of the Vestals was not confined to Alba and Rome, it was common to the Latins generally.[7] If, as seems probable, the Vestal Virgins were originally the king's daughters, who had charge of the house, and especially of the fire on the hearth, we can easily understand why in the simple days of old they had to fetch water daily from a spring.[8]

III. 29. **Methought I was by the fire of Ilium.**—"The fire of Ilium" is the sacred Vestal fire which Aeneas was supposed to have brought with him from Troy (Ilium).[9] The Vestal dreamed that she was sitting beside the sacred, but familiar, hearth.

III. 29. **the woollen fillet slipped from my hair and fell before the sacred hearth.**—The fillets worn by the Vestals on their hair were a badge of virginity: an unfaithful Vestal

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 77. 1.
[2] Livy, i. 20. 3.
[3] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 336.
[4] Asconius, *In Miloniam*, p. 35 ed. Kiessling et Schoell.
[5] Juvenal, iv. 60-61.
[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5011, 6190.
[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 66. 1.
[8] Compare J. G. Frazer, "The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires", *The Journal of Philology*, xiv. (1885) pp. 154 *sqq.*
[9] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 527 *sq.*, iii. 417 *sq.*, *Metamorph.* xv. 730 *sq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 296 *sq.*; Propertius, v. (iv.) 4. 69 *sq.*

was said to have sullied her fillets.[1] Silvia's dream of the fallen fillets signified her lost maidenhood. When a Vestal was found guilty of unchastity and condemned to die, the fillets were removed from her head ; then she was conducted in procession through the Forum and buried alive outside the walls.[2] In the Sibyl's prophecy to Aeneas, as reported by Tibullus, the prophetess has a vision of Ilia (Silvia) and the fillets lying on the ground, and the Vestal hearth abandoned.[3] Ovid may have had the lines of Tibullus in his mind when he wrote this passage. The two palm-trees that sprang from the fillets in Silvia's dream prefigure the twins who were to be the fruit of her frailty.

III. 35. **Lo, mine uncle wielded an axe against the trees.** —The wicked uncle is Amulius, king of Alba, and his attempt to cut down the two palms foreshadows his vain attempt to murder the twins, which Ovid proceeds to relate.

III. 37. **A woodpecker—the bird of Mars—and a she-wolf fought in defence of the twin trunks.**—This vision prefigures the parts which the wolf and the woodpecker were to play in saving the lives of the abandoned twins, Romulus and Remus. The poet has already described the suckling of the twins by the she-wolf.[4] A little further on (line 54) he describes the help given by the woodpecker.

III. 40. **Remus was growing, and growing, too, was Quirinus.** —Here Quirinus is used as a synonym for Romulus, although, according to the orthodox tradition, Romulus did not assume the title of Quirinus until after his death and deification. This use of the title shows how completely Romulus had absorbed and eclipsed the genuine old war-god Quirinus.[5]

III. 45. **The images of Vesta are said to have covered their eyes with their virgin hands.**—Though Ovid says " images " he probably meant " image " ; for he has no scruple about

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 457.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* viii. 89. 4-5 (describing the execution of Opimia). Compare Livy, ii. 42. 11, who calls the unfaithful Virgin Oppia.

[3] Tibullus, ii. 5. 51-53 : " *Te quoque iam video, Marti placitura sacerdos*
Ilia, Vestales deseruisse focos,
Concubitusque tuos furtim vittasque iacentes."

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 413 *sqq.*

[5] See Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 37, with the note, Vol. II. pp. 32 *sq.*, compare pp. 407 *sq.*

using a neuter plural for the singular wherever it suits the metre better; for example, he will use *templa* for *templum* when he means only a single temple,[1] and *nomina* for *nomen* when he means only a single name.[2] Elsewhere Ovid says that there was no image in the temple of Vesta.[3] Salomon Reinach has suggested an ingenious explanation of the attitude of the image of Vesta here described by Ovid; he supposes that in her images the goddess was represented covering her eyes with her hands as if to protect them from the pungent smoke of her sacred fire. This interpretation Reinach bases on the figure of a goddess carved in this attitude on the Gallic monument called the altar of Mavilly.[4]

III. 54. **a woodpecker often brought food to the abandoned babes.**—The tradition that a woodpecker fed the infant Romulus and Remus is mentioned also by Aurelius Victor [5] and by Plutarch, who says that the Latins had a particular veneration for the bird and strictly abstained from injuring it, believing that it was sacred to Mars.[6] Indeed, both the wolf and the woodpecker were deemed sacred to Mars; [7] hence it was natural enough that they should have come to the rescue of the god's forsaken offspring. So closely associated with Mars was the woodpecker that it was often called the Martian woodpecker (*picus Martius*); and under this name it was of great account in augury.[8] Omens were drawn from the note of the bird,[9] from its position to the right or left of the spectator, and from the sight of it

[1] See for example *Fasti*, v. 153, 552, 577, 669, vi. 34, 52, 183, 650, 784.

[2] See for example *Fasti*, ii. 449, iii. 4, 118, 150, 246, 387, 390, iv. 872, v. 1, 149, vi. 578; *Metamorph.* xiv. 396, "*Nec quicquam antiquum Pico nisi nomina restat*". See further note on *Fasti*, v. 1. (Vol. IV. p. 2).

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 295-298.

[4] See note on *Fasti*, vi. 295 (Vol. IV. pp. 219 *sq.*).

[5] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 20. 4.

[6] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 2, *Quaest. Rom.* 21, *De fortuna Romanorum*, p. 320 D.

[7] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 2; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 20. 4. Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 273) says that a woodpecker and a lapwing (*parra*) fluttered about the infants. Both these birds figured in Umbrian augury. See below, p. 9.

[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 40, "*Pici Martio cognomine insignes et in auspiciis magni*". The *picus Martius* is mentioned by Pliny elsewhere (*Nat. Hist.* xxv. 29, xxvii. 85). Compare Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Picumnus", pp. 834-835 ed. Lindsay; Isidore, *Origines*, xii. 7. 47.

[9] Festus, *s.v.* "Oscinum", p. 214 ed. Lindsay.

tapping at the trunk of a tree.[1] At Tiora Matiene, in the Sabine country, there was once a very ancient oracle, where the responses were said to have been given by a woodpecker, which perched on a wooden pillar. This is reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who compares the oracle to the ancient one at Dodona, where the responses were reported to have been given by a dove, which perched on a sacred oak. The oracle at Tiora Matiene seems to have been dumb in the time of Dionysius ; he mentions the place in his list of towns which had been inhabited by the aborigines long before the foundation of Rome, but which in his day had been left desolate through the ravages of war and other calamities.[2] Some would identify the site of Tiora Matiene with the ruins of Cyclopean walls that still look down from Monte Castora into the valley of the Himella,[3] but others doubt the identification.[4]

The woodpecker was believed by the ancients to be in possession of a magic herb, which it used for a special purpose. The bird does not build a nest but with its strong beak scoops out a chamber in the heart of a tree, where it lays its eggs and rears its young ; the chamber is approached by a horizontal tunnel driven right into the core of the tree.[5] As these tunnels injure, and in time might destroy, the tree, the woodmen stop them up with wedges ; and the ancients believed that, when a woodpecker found the doorway of his house thus obstructed, he applied his magic herb to the wedge, which at once slipped out. One writer declared that even if you rammed a wedge into one of these tunnels with all your might, it would jump out with a loud bang as soon as the bird lighted on the end of it.[6] The very same belief exists in Europe to this day, especially in Germany. The magic herb is known as springwort (in German *Springwurzel*), a name which it has received from its marvellous power of bursting open closed doors and locked locks. It is procured

[1] Plautus, *Asinaria*, 259 *sqq.* ; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 27. 15.
[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 14. 1 and 5.
[3] O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887), p. 277.
[4] H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 471.
[5] Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893–1896), p. 1047 ; B. Allent, *Les Animaux industrieux* [11] (Paris, N.D.), p. 117.
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 40; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, i. 45.

in the very same way as in antiquity. You mark a hole in a tree made by a woodpecker: you bung up the hole with a wooden wedge: you hide behind the tree, and bide your time. The woodpecker has flown away, but presently returns with the springwort in its bill and applies it to the wedge, which, as if struck with a hammer, leaps out with a bang. Now is your chance. You rush from your ambush, you raise a loud cry, the woodpecker drops the springwort in its fright. You hold out a red or a white cloth and catch the magic herb as it falls. The springwort is now yours, and with it you can open all doors and locks, and discover all the treasures buried in the ground. Some people identify the herb with caper-spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*).[1] The ancients seem to have similarly believed in the power of the springwort to reveal treasures; for when the slave in Plautus has found the pot of gold, he exclaims gleefully, "I surpass in wealth the woodpeckers that haunt the mountains of gold".[2] A strong proof of the antiquity of the worship of the woodpecker in Italy and of the association of the bird with Mars is furnished by the ancient Umbrian inscription known as the Iguvian Tables; for in it there occurs a mention of the Martian woodpecker,[3] and directions are given for the way in which the Flamen is to take omens from the woodpecker, the crow, the magpie, and the lapwing (Umbrian *parfa*, Latin *parra*).[4]

Further evidence of the important place which the woodpecker held in the ancient Italian religion is to be found in the relation in which the Picentes stood to the bird. The Picentes were a branch of the Sabines who broke off from

[1] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], ii. 812 *sq.*, iii. 289; A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] (Gütersloh, 1886), pp. 188-193; *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 69-71, with the references. For the power of the springwort to disclose treasures in the earth see H. Pröhle, *Harzsagen* (Leipzig, 1859), i. 99, No. 23.

[2] Plautus, *Aulularia*, 701 *sq.*, "*Picis divitiis, qui aureos montes colunt, ego solus supero*", where for *picis* we shall apparently read *picos*.

[3] *Iguvian Tables*, v. B. 9, "*Piquier Martier* (*Picii Martii*)," in H. Buecheler, *Umbrica* (Bonn, 1883), p. 11; C. D. Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (Boston, U.S.A., 1904), p. 261.

[4] *Iguvian Tables*, vi. A, in H. Buecheler, *Umbrica*, pp. 42 *sqq.*; C. D. Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 262. The identification of the bird called *parra* has been much discussed, but according to O. Keller there is no doubt that it was the lapwing (*Vanellus cristatus*). See *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3] (Cambridge, 1921), p. 58.

the main body of the nation and set out to seek a new home in accordance with the vow known as the Sacred Spring ;[1] they are said to have been guided on their journey from the Sabine country by a woodpecker, which they esteemed sacred to Mars, and they took their name from the bird, for the name Picentes means "the people of the woodpecker" (*picus*).[2] According to a rationalized version of the story a woodpecker perched on their standard when they were on the march to their new home.[3]

From all this it is clear that in the days of old the forefathers of some of the ancient Italian peoples, especially the Latins and the Sabines, revered the woodpecker, with which they were doubtless acquainted in the woods of Central and Northern Europe before their descendants swarmed down into the plains of Italy. At a later time their civilized descendants, unable to understand the primitive worship of the humble bird, attempted to explain and dignify it in the usual fashion by saying that the woodpecker (*picus*) was originally an old Italian king named Picus, who was also a skilful diviner, but having spurned the love of the witch Circe he was by her transformed into a woodpecker ; though in his bird-shape the red feathers of his wings and the yellow feathers of his gorget still reflected the scarlet cloak with golden clasp which he had worn as a king. Indeed, mythology provided him with a regular pedigree, representing him as the son of Saturn and the father of Faunus, who in his turn begat King Latinus, the ally and father-in-law of Aeneas.[4] All this may

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 110. In times of peril and public calamity the Italian peoples, especially the Sabines, used to vow that they would sacrifice to the gods every creature, whether man or beast, that should be born in the following spring ; but in historical times the sacrifice of the children was commuted for a practice of keeping them until they had grown up and then driving them beyond the boundaries. The custom was called a Sacred Spring. See Festus, *s.vv.* "Mamertini", "Sacrani", and "Ver sacrum", pp. 150, 424, 425, 519 *sq.*, ed. Lindsay ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 796 ; Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Ver sacrum", p. 840 ed. Lindsay ; Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, iii. 16. 29 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 16 and 23 *sq.*, ii. 1. 2. According to Dionysius (*op. cit.* i. 16. 1) the custom was common to many Greek and barbarous peoples.

[2] Strabo, v. 4. 2, p. 240.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Picena regio", p. 235 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 45-49 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 320-396 ; Silius Italicus, viii. 440-444 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 190 ; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 15 ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 21. According to Plutarch, it was the wife of Picus who turned him into a woodpecker. As to the bright feathers of wood-

be dismissed as the fictions of learned men for whom the ancient faith in the divinity of nature had become unintelligible and absurd, and who sought to adapt it to modern ideas by decanting the old wine of religion into the new bottles of rationalism or rather of mythology.

But it is still worth while to ask whether in the woodpecker of the Picentes we have not a reminiscence of a woodpecker totem. Among the distinctive marks of totemism may be mentioned three: first, a tribe or a clan takes the name of its totem animal; second, regards its totem animal as sacred and refuses to kill or injure it; and, third, relates some benefit which the totem animal conferred on their ancestor in former times. Now all three of these marks are found in the relations of the Picentes to the woodpecker, and so far they raise a certain presumption of totemism. The presumption is strengthened by the parallel relation of the Hirpini to the wolf. For the Hirpini, like the Picentes, were a Sabine tribe, and when they broke off from the main body of the nation they are said to have been led to their new home by a wolf, and for that reason they called themselves after the animal; for the Sabine word for wolf was *hirpus* and the name Hirpini means "the people of the wolf".[1] If this is not totemism, it is something like it. But in order to pronounce it definitely totemism, we should have to be acquainted with the rules regulating the marriage of these two tribes who called themselves after woodpeckers and wolves respectively. If a Woodpecker man was forbidden to marry a Woodpecker woman but was free to marry a Wolf woman; and if reciprocally a Wolf man was forbidden to marry a Wolf woman but was free to marry a Woodpecker woman, then beyond question the woodpecker and the wolf were the totems of these two tribes. But as we do not know whether the tribes observed these rules or not, in other words, whether they were exogamous, the question of their totemism must apparently remain without a definite answer.

---

peckers see Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds*, p. 1046: "They are generally of bright parti-coloured plumage, in which black, white, brown, olive, green, yellow, orange, or scarlet—the last commonly visible on some part of the head—mingled in varying proportions, and most often strongly contrasted with one another, appear."

[1] Strabo, v. 4. 12, p. 250; Festus, *s.v.* "*Irpini*", p. 93 ed. Lindsay.

In any case it is curious and suggestive that according to tradition Romulus and Remus were fed in their infancy by the very bird and beast which of all others smacked most strongly of totemism.[1]

Adalbert Kuhn attempted to prove that the woodpecker was one of those creatures which in mythology have played the part of bringers of the first fire to mankind.[2] The evidence he adduced in support of the theory was slender, but he might have strengthened it if he had been content to assume the bird itself as the firebearer instead of arguing that the firebearer in the original story must have been a man, whom mythologists afterwards converted into a bird. For from a survey of myths of the origin of fire, which are scattered over a great part of the world,[3] it appears that in many of them the owner or the bringer of the first fire was not a man but an animal, whether a bird or a beast; and in many of the stories the aim of the story-teller appears to be, not so much to relate how men procured fire for the first time, as to explain the peculiar shapes or colours of certain birds or beasts which are supposed to have been produced by contact with the first fire. For example, red spots or patches in the plumage of certain birds are explained by saying that they were produced by the first fire, which scorched and reddened the feathers. For instance, the aborigines of Cape Grafton on the coast of Queensland say that the first fire was brought down from the sky by a small wren with a red back (*Malurus*, sp.), and that the redness of its back was caused by the fire sticking to it.[4] Again, the natives of Kiwai, an island off New Guinea, say that the first fire was brought to them by a black cockatoo, which carried a burning stick in its beak; but the bird's mouth was terribly burnt by the fire and has had a red spot on both sides of it ever since.[5] The Andaman Islanders tell how

[1] Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, p. 186 note [3].

[2] A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* [2] (Gütersloh, 1886), pp. 30 *sqq.*, 93 *sq.*, 188 *sq.*

[3] I have given some examples of these myths in my edition of Apollodorus, vol. ii. pp. 326-350. I hope hereafter to publish a fuller collection.

[4] Walter E. Roth, "Superstition, Magic, and Medicine", *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No.* 5 (Brisbane, 1903), p. 11.

[5] Rev. J. Chalmers, "Note on the Natives of Kiwai Island", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 188; G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 36.

a kingfisher stole the first fire from a certain mythical being named Biliku and brought it to mankind. Biliku was asleep when the theft was committed, but he wakened in time to throw a lighted brand at the thief; and a patch of bright red feathers on the neck of the kingfisher shows to this day the exact spot where the brand hit and burned it.[1] Now the various species of woodpecker have commonly scarlet feathers on some part of the head, and both the green woodpecker (*Gecinus* or *Picus viridis*) and the black woodpecker (*Picus Martius*), which are among the commonest of European species, have scarlet caps or crowns.[2] Such scarlet caps are just the sort of traits to which a story of fire-bringing would naturally be attached; for to the primitive mind they would seem to be clear traces of burning. In point of fact, the natives of Loango tell how the woodpecker helped men to procure the first fire from heaven. They say that the spider span a long long thread, and that the wind caught the thread and carried the end of it up to the sky. Then the woodpecker climbed up the thread and with its beak pecked those holes in the celestial vault which we call the stars. After that men clambered up the thread and brought down the fire from heaven.[3] Again, the Menri, a Semang tribe of the Malay Peninsula, believe that the woodpecker, which they call *djelato*, procured the first fire for mankind, and in gratitude for this great benefit they look on the woodpecker as sacred and will not kill it.[4] If the ancient Italians in like manner believed that the woodpecker had brought the first fire to mankind, we could easily understand why they looked on the bird as sacred.

The folk-lore of the woodpecker has been discussed with characteristic learning and ingenuity by Dr. Rendel Harris.[5]

[1] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 203 *sq.*

[2] Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds*, pp. 1046-1048.

[3] *Die Loango Expedition*, iii. 2, von E Pechuël-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 337.

[4] P. Schebesta, "Religiöse Anschauungen der Semang", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxv. (1927) p. 16.

[5] Rendel Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 35-37, 38, 44, 209-213, 329-332, 344-347, 393-395, 404, 416-417; *id.*, *Picus who is also Zeus* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. vi, vii-viii, ix, 17 *sqq.*, 37 *sqq.*, 45 *sqq.*, 48 *sqq.*, 55 *sq.* On the woodpecker in classical antiquity see also O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887), pp. 277-285. In antiquity late historians identified the mythical Italian king Picus (not the woodpecker) with Zeus. See

He arrives at the conclusion that the woodpecker was a thunder-bird, that is, one of those birds which in many savage myths are thought to make thunder by the flapping of their wings. There is no necessary inconsistency between this view and the theory of Kuhn that the woodpecker brought the first fire to men ; for what more natural than to imagine that mankind obtained their first fire from a conflagration kindled by a flash of lightning in a thunder-storm ?

III. 55. **Nor would I pass thee by in silence, Larentia, nurse of so great a nation.**—Larentia or Acca Larentia, as she was generally called, or Acca Larentina, is a somewhat mysterious figure in Roman legend. Two different traditions were current about her. According to one of them, she was the nurse of Romulus and Remus, being the wife of Faustulus, the shepherd who found and brought up the infants.[1] It is said that Acca Larentia had twelve sons, and that when one of them died Romulus took his place and named them and himself the Arval Brethren. Such, according to this version of the story, was the origin of the priestly college of the Twelve Brethren, whose number was always twelve and whose badge of office was a wreath of ears of corn.[2] According to the other tradition, Acca Larentia was a harlot who left a great inheritance to the Roman people under the following circumstances. It chanced that one day the sacristan in the temple of Hercules, having nothing particular to do, amused himself by playing at dice with the deity, one of his hands playing for Hercules and the other for himself. The stake was a feast

Diodorus Siculus, Frag. vi. 4, vol. ii. pp. 104 *sq.* ed. L. Dindorf (Teubner edition) ; J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* bks. i. and ii. pp. 19 *sq.*, 34-36 ed. L. Dindorf ; Suidas, *s.v.* Πίκος. But the identification will hardly bear the weight of the hypotheses which modern mythologists have piled upon it. See W. R. Halliday, " Picus-who-is-also-Zeus ", *Classical Review*, xxxvi. (1922) pp. 110-112 ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 693-697 ; Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, etc., 1927), pp. 483 *sq.* The identification of Picus with Zeus, as Professor Nilsson observes, " is a learned invention of the Euhemerist historiographers, who tried to make history out of myth and to correlate the histories of the old world-empires ".

[1] Livy, i. 4. 7 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Larentalia ", p. 106 ed. Lindsay ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 6 ; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 1. 3 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 84. 4 (who calls her Laurentia) ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 3, *Quaest. Rom.* 35 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10. 17 ; note in the Praenestine calendar under December 23, *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 238, 338 (where she is called Acca Larentina).

[2] Aulus Gellius, vii. 7. 8 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 6.

and a wench. Hercules won the game, and the sacristan paid his debt of dishonour by serving a feast to the god and shutting up the drab Larentia in his temple. In the course of the night Hercules visited the wench in a dream and told her to go to the Forum next morning and to make a friend of the first person she should meet. She did as she was bid, and the first person she met was an elderly man of large property named Tarrutius, who fell in love with her, took her home, and married her. At his death he left her the whole of his property, and she by testament bequeathed it to the Roman people. This was said to have happened in the reign of Ancus Martius.[1] However, according to the historian Valerius Antias these events must have occurred in the reign of Romulus, for on his showing it was to King Romulus that Acca Larentia bequeathed her property.[2] She was said to have been buried by Ancus Martius in the Velabrum, at the end of the New Way, and at her grave the Flamen Quirinalis or (according to Cicero) the pontiffs used to offer a solemn sacrifice and libations to her ghost in the month of December.[3]

In one passage Plutarch says that the libations in honour of Acca Larentia were poured out by the priest of Mars, that is, by the Flamen Quirinalis, in the month of April, and that the festival was called Larentia.[4] But this date creates a difficulty; for the Larentia, which is here mentioned by Plutarch, can hardly be other than the Larentalia, which fell on December 23, as we know from the Maffeian and Praenestine calendars,[5] confirmed by the evidence of Ovid (lines 57-58). Moreover, that the Larentalia of December was regarded as a festival in honour of Larentia is proved not only by the definite statements of Ovid and of Plutarch

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 5, *Quaest. Rom.* 35; Aulus Gellius, vii. 7. 5-6; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10. 12-14; Tertullian, *Ad. Nationes*, ii. 10; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 7. Tertullian and Augustine call her Larentina.

[2] Aulus Gellius, vii. 7. 6.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 23-24; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10. 15; Cicero, *Epist. ad Brutum*, i. 15. 8, "*In eoque sum maiorum exemplum secutus, qui hunc honorem mulieri Larentiae tribuerunt, cuius vos pontifices ad aram in Velabro sacrificium facere soletis*"; Aulus Gellius, vii. 7. 7; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 34, *Romulus*, 4. 3 (where "the priest of Ares" is the Flamen Quirinalis). As to the Velabrum and the New Way see notes on *Fasti*, vi. 395, 405 (Vol. IV. pp. 236 *sq.*, 248 *sq.*).

[4] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 3.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 226, 238, 338.

himself in another passage,[1] but by a note in the Praenestine calendar, under December 23, which runs thus : " A festival of Jupiter. (A festival) of Acca Larentina (*sic*). Some say that she was the nurse of Romulus and Remus ; others that she was a courtesan, the mistress of Hercules. Mortuary honours are paid to her publicly (' *parentari ei publice* '), because she made the Roman people heir to a large fortune, which she had inherited by the testament of her lover Tarutilius (*sic*)." [2] And though Varro does not give the date of the Larentalia, he says plainly that the festival " was named after Acca Larentia to whom our priests publicly offer mortuary honours (' *publice parentant* ') ".[3] Macrobius expressly calls the honour paid to Acca Larentia " an annual *parentatio* ".[4] Thus it appears that the mortuary honours paid to Acca Larentia were like the regular honours paid to the dead in February and known by the name of the Parentalia.[5] Now Plutarch asked the question, " Whereas all the other Romans offer libations and sacrifices to the dead in February, why did Decimus Brutus (as Cicero relates) do this in December ? " [6] From this we may naturally infer that Decimus Brutus sacrificed to his dead on December 23, the day of the Larentalia ; indeed Plutarch, in asking the question, does not fail to note the occurrence of the Larentalia in December. He suggests various philosophical reasons why the eccentric Brutus should have departed from the regular Roman practice, such as that the last month of the year is a suitable time at which to honour the dead ; or that the days when the earth is stirred to receive the first seed naturally remind us of those who are now in the nether world. But perhaps a simpler and more prosaic reason for the singularity of Brutus's conduct may be found in his name of Decimus. " As I am called Tenth (Decimus) Brutus," he

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 34.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 238, 338.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 23-24. Festus also (*s.v.* " Feralia ", p. 106 ed. Lindsay) says that the Larentalia was " a festival of Larentia, wife of Faustulus and nurse of Remus and Romulus ". Compare Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20, " *Huius* (*Larentiae*) *nomini etiam dies festus dicatus est, et Larentinalia constituta* ". Here Lactantius uses the incorrect form Larentinalia for Larentalia : Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 10. 11) makes the same mistake.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10. 16, " *Et ideo sepulchri magnificentia et annuae parentationis honore dignatam* ".

[5] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 533 (Vol. II. pp. 431 *sqq.*).

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 34.

may have reflected, "why should I not sacrifice to my dead kinsfolk in the tenth month, December?" And so, according to Cicero, he did. Men do not always regulate their conduct by deep philosophical reflection: the motives that actuate them are often trivial: in tracing actions to their source we must not leave out of our reckoning the element of simple whim and caprice. Brutus may have been a humorist.

Finding Larentia thus associated with rites in honour of the dead, it is natural to surmise that her name is connected with the Lares, whom we have seen reason to regard as originally the spirits of the dead.[1] To this view it has been objected by philologists of the straiter sort that the first syllable (*lar*) is short in *Lăres*, but long in *Lārentia* and *Lārentalia*, and that therefore there is no connexion between the words.[2] But the objection is not perhaps fatal. We have seen that good Latin authors, including Ovid, had no scruple about lengthening the *a* in *Grādivus* when it suited the verse, though unquestionably the word comes from *grădior* with a short *ă*.[3] Then why should they have boggled at lengthening the short *a* of Lăres into the long *a* of Lārentia? In such matters poets and people generally are less strait-laced than philologists. On the whole the most probable, or the least improbable, view of Acca Larentia seems to be that, as K. O. Müller, Schwegler, Preller, and Roscher thought, she is the Mother of the Lares, the name Acca being an old word for "mother," which occurs in the same form and the same sense in Sanscrit.[4] If that was so, we can perhaps

[1] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 615 (Vol. II. pp. 453 *sqq.*).

[2] Th. Mommsen, "Die echte und die falsche Acca Larentia," *Römische Forschungen*, ii. (Berlin, 1879) p. 3 note [3]; H. Jordan, in L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 27 note [1]; G. Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. 134; *id.*, "Die Anfänge des römischen Larenkultes", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vii. (1904) pp. 51 *sq.*; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 234. On the other side see E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 115-117. Th. Mommsen, who formerly rejected the connexion of the Larentalia with the Lares on account of the difference of quantity in the first syllable, afterwards saw reason to change his view; for in a note on Larentalia (*C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 338) he observes: "*Plerique hodie Larentinam aliqua ratione coniungunt cum Laribus, recte fortasse, sed certe sine auctore antiquo*".

[3] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 861.

[4] K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 105 *sqq.*; A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 432 note [3]; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 26 *sq.*; W. H. Roscher, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 5-6, *s.v.* "Acca Larentia".

understand why in legend she should have been represented as the nurse of Romulus and Remus. For in her capacity of a Vestal Virgin the mother of Romulus and Remus had charge of the sacred hearth, the seat of the worship of the domestic Lares; and according to Ovid she fancied that she was sitting at the hearth in the dream that foretold the miraculous birth.[1] What therefore more natural than that the Mother of the Lares should take charge of the children of her priestess?

It is less easy to explain the curious legend which connected Acca Larentia with the worship of Hercules, representing her as his mistress, at least for one night. The notorious gallantries of the burly hero seem hardly sufficient to account for the story.

The coincidence of a festival of Jupiter with the Larentalia on December 23, which is vouched for by Macrobius[2] and the Praenestine calendar,[3] was probably accidental. There is no obvious connexion between Jupiter and a festival of the dead; the reason assigned by Macrobius, namely, that Jupiter both bestows souls on men and receives them back again after death, is clearly a guess.

That the grave of Larentia should have been shown in the Velabrum seems to have struck Varro, for in his time the dead had long ceased to be buried within the walls, and the Velabrum was then a crowded quarter of the city. Accordingly he notes that the place "was outside the ancient city, not far from the Romanulan Gate".[4] Ovid himself has recorded the tradition of a time when the Velabrum was a reedy marsh, where a ferry-boat plied to convey passengers to and from the city.[5] Thus we can understand how it came about that in after ages a grave with a sacrificial altar was still shown in the busy thoroughfare. It must have been a strange sight to see "the flamens at their service quaint" in the midst of the bustle, surrounded by a crowd

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 27 *sqq.*

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10. 15.

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 228, 338.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 24. As to the Romanulan or Roman Gate, at the foot of the staircase leading up to the Slope of Victory on the Palatine, see Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 164; Festus, *s.v.* "Romanam portam", p. 318 ed. Lindsay; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*,² pp. 37 *sq.*, 134; note on *Fasti*, vi. 395 (Vol. IV. p. 239).

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 405 *sqq.*

of curious spectators awed into silence or perhaps tittering and whispering profane jests to each other behind their hands.

The statement of Plutarch in one passage that mortuary honours were paid to Larentia in April [1] seems to rest on a confusion of Larentia with Flora, whose festival fell in the last days of April and the first days of May. For the same scandalous story was told of Flora that was told of Larentia. It was said that she had been a harlot who acquired great wealth by the exercise of her profession, and that at her death she bequeathed her property to the Roman people, setting aside a certain sum which was to defray the cost of games to be annually celebrated on her birthday and to be called after her the Floralia.[2] This explanation of Plutarch's mistake was given by Th. Mommsen, though he need not have laid a fresh burden on Plutarch's back by correcting, or rather corrupting, his text so as to make him imply that the Floralia was celebrated at the beginning instead of at the end of April.[3]

The story of the game of dice which the priest of Hercules played with the deity may contain a reminiscence of a real ritual observed in the worship of Hercules. For divination by throwing dice was practised in the cave of Hercules near Bura in Achaia;[4] indeed, dice used for the purpose of divination appear to have been a common appanage of Greek sanctuaries.[5] For example, games of dice were played, probably for the sake of an oracle, at the sanctuary of Athena at Scirum in Attica.[6] Ancient Indian ritual seems to have offered a curious parallel to the Roman legend in

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 3.

[2] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20.

[3] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, ii. 13 note [30]. The passage of Plutarch (*Romulus*, 4. 3) runs thus: *ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρει τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου μηνὸς αὐτῇ ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεος ἱερεὺς καὶ Λαρεντίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἑορτήν.* U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff suggested to Mommsen that in this passage *αὐτῇ* should be altered into *πρώτῃ*, and the conjecture was accepted as certain by Mommsen (*l.c.*). But this would make Plutarch say that the festival of Larentia (by hypothesis the Floralia) fell on the 1st of April, whereas the Floralia began on April 28 and extended to May 3. See *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 317, and Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 947, "*Exit et in Maias sacrum Florale kalendas*". Apparently Wilamowitz and Mommsen confused the Calends of April with the Calends of May, but we need not impute the same confusion to Plutarch.

[4] Pausanias, vii. 25. 10.

[5] Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 337.

[6] Pollux, ix. 96; I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 300, *s.v.* Σκειραφεῖα; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Σκιραφεῖα; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 717 *s.v.* Σκειρά. See further my commentary on Pausanias, vii. 25. 10 (vol. iv. pp. 172-174).

question, as I gather from the following note of J. Eggeling on the *Satapatha Brâhmana*: "Previously to the performance of the full-offering, the other fires (if there are any more) are laid down. An integral part of the laying down of the *Sabhya*, or hall-fire, which seems to have been kept up only by Kshatriyas, is a game of dice, played by the priests, with a cow, offered by the sacrificer, for the stake. On an ox-hide, spread north of the sacrificial ground, they place a brass vessel upside down, and on it throw four times five cowries (or, if such are not to be had, five sticks) with 'Even I win, uneven thou art won (or defeated)!'"[1]

III. 57. **your honour will find its place when I come to tell of the Larentalia; that festival falls in December.**—This is a plain indication that the poet intended to carry his account of the calendar to the end of the Roman year, though in the poem as it has come down to us he treats of only the first six months.

III. 58. **December, the month dear to the mirthful spirits.**—The festival of the Saturnalia, a time of mirth and revelry, fell in December and gave a joyous character to the month. The "mirthful spirits" (*genii*) are the guardian spirits of individuals; by feasting and wassailing a man was supposed to gratify his guardian spirit (*genius*), who was a sort of double of himself and took particular delight in the exhilaration of wine on holidays.[2] Ausonius repeatedly alludes to "the genial festival" of December in terms which remind us of the present line of Ovid.[3]

III. 62. **the brothers, sons of Ilia.**—These are, of course, Romulus and Remus. The patronymic *Iliades* may refer either to Ilia (*Silvia*), the mother of the twins, or to Ilus, the founder of Ilium (Troy), in allusion to the supposed descent of Romulus and Remus from the Trojan Aeneas. But *Iliades* could not mean "men of Ilium"; for in Latin as

[1] *Satapatha Brâhmana*, translated by J. Eggeling, Part I. (Oxford, 1882) p. 302 note [1] (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii.).

[2] Compare Plautus, *Persa*, 263, "*Genio meo multa bona faciam*"; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 17. 14-15, "*Cras Genium mero | curabis et porco bimestri*"; *id.*, *Epist.* ii. 1. 143-144, "*Piabant | floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi*"; *id.*, *Ars Poetica*, 209-210, "*Vinoque diurno | placari Genius festis impune diebus*".

[3] Ausonius, *Ecl.* ix. 12, "*Tu genialem hiemem, feste December, agis*", *id.*, x. 23, "*Concludens numerum genialia festa December*".

in Greek the patronymic always connotes descent from a person, never birth in a place.

III. 63. **Often they . . . brought back to their own fields the kine which had been carried off.**—Livy and Plutarch also tell how Romulus and Remus repelled the raids of robbers and recovered the cattle that had been carried off.[1] Ovid has already narrated one of these adventures.[2]

III. 67. **Amulius fell, pierced by the sword of Romulus.**—The credit of murdering, or executing, their wicked grand-uncle, King Amulius, and restoring their grandfather Numitor, the rightful king, to the throne, is assigned to Romulus and Remus jointly by Livy and Plutarch.[3]

III. 70. **Walls were built which, small though they were, it had been better for Remus not to have overleaped.**—The story of Remus's rash leap over the rising walls of Rome, and its fatal consequence, is told by Ovid later on in the poem.[4]

III. 79. **And yet the earlier ages had worshipped Mars above all the gods.**—Ovid was unquestionably right in believing that the worship of Mars had been common to the Latin and other Italian peoples before the foundation of Rome. "The central object not only of Roman but of Italian worship generally in that epoch when the Italian stock still dwelt by itself in the peninsula was, according to all indications, the god Maurs or Mars, the killing god,[5] pre-eminently regarded as the divine champion of the burgesses, hurling the spear, protecting the flock, and overthrowing the foe. Each community, of course, had its own Mars, and deemed him to be the strongest and holiest of all; and accordingly every '*ver sacrum*' (sacred spring)[6]

[1] Livy, i. 4. 9; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 6 and 7.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 369 *sqq.*
[3] Livy, i. 5-6; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 8.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 835 *sqq.*
[5] "From *Maurs*, which is the oldest form handed down by tradition, there have been developed, by different treatment of the *u*, *Mars*, *Mavors*, *Mors*." This view of Mommsen as to the derivation of the name, which would make Mars the god of killing and of death (*mors*), is not generally accepted. Preller, on the contrary, would derive the name from *mar* or *mas*, "male", in the sense of "the begetter", "the life-giver". Roscher, again, would deduce the name from *mar*, "to shine", in the sense of "the shining sun". In fact, there is no hypothesis that cannot be built on the slippery foundation of etymology. See L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[2], i. 334; W. H. Roscher, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2437 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Mars".
[6] See above, p. 10.

setting out to found a new community marched under the protection of its own Mars." [1] A proof of the worship of Mars among the other peoples of Latium is the existence of a month of Mars (Martius) in their calendars, though it did not in all of them, as at Rome, occupy the first place in the year. To this proof Ovid does well to call attention a few lines below. The worship of Mars in Umbria is attested by the frequent mention of his name in the Iguvian Tables.[2]

III. 81. **Pallas is worshipped by the sons of Cecrops.**—In other words, Athena is worshipped by the Athenians. Cecrops was an ancient king of Athens.[3] Elsewhere Ovid uses the adjective Cecropian in the sense of Athenian,[4] and the noun Cecropidae in the sense of Athenians.[5]

III. 81. **Diana (is worshipped) by Minoan Crete.**—Goddesses whom the Greeks identified with Artemis (Diana) were worshipped in Crete under the titles of Britomartis and Dictynna.[6] It appears highly probable that under both these titles there lurks an ancient goddess of the Minoan religion, the Mistress of Animals, whose artistic type survived in the familiar figures of Artemis with a deer or other animal on either side of her. It is even possible or likely that, as Professor Martin P. Nilsson thinks, the name Britomartis, which is certainly not Greek, is one of the very scanty remains of the still unknown Minoan language.[7] Thus Ovid's remark that Diana (Artemis) was worshipped by Minoan Crete may have had a deeper historical foundation than the poet could have suspected.

III. 82. **Vulcan is worshipped by the Hypsipylean land.**—"The Hypsipylean land" is the island of Lemnos, of which Hypsipyle was queen when the Argonauts visited the island.[8] In the *Odyssey* it is said that of all lands Lemnos

[1] Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 182.

[2] Fr. Buecheler, *Umbrica* (Bonnae, 1893), p. 211 (for references).

[3] Apollodorus, iii. 15. 1; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 427.

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 70, 446, *Heroides*, x. 125. So Propertius, ii. 20. 6, ii. 33. 29.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 504, *Metamorph.* vii. 486, 502, 671.

[6] Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 317. We are told that Britomartis was the Cretan name of Artemis. See Hesychius, *s.v.* Βριτόμαρτις.

[7] Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), pp. 432-443.

[8] Apollonius Rhodius, i. 650 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 9. 17.

was by far the dearest to Hephaestus (Vulcan).[1] It was on Lemnos that Vulcan (Hephaestus) fell when he was hurled from heaven by his father Zeus.[2] Homer's brief account of the fall is expanded by Milton in the lines :

> *"And how he fell*
> *From Heaven they fabled, thrown by angry Jove*
> *Sheer o'er the crystal battlements : from morn*
> *To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,*
> *A summer's day, and with the setting sun*
> *Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,*
> *On Lemnos, th' Ægæan isle."* [3]

An island which worshipped the fire-god might have been expected to maintain a perpetual fire, but it did not. Once a year every fire in the island was extinguished and remained extinct for nine days, during which sacrifices were offered to the dead and to the infernal powers. New fire was brought in a ship from Delos, and with it the fires in the houses and workshops were rekindled. If the ship that brought the new fire arrived too soon, it might not put in to shore, but had to cruise in the offing till the nine days were expired.[4] The reason for extinguishing the fires during the nine days was no doubt to prevent them from being polluted by contact with the dead, who would naturally be prowling about while the ceremonies in their honour were being performed. It is a common custom to extinguish fires after a death. For example, in Argos, when a death had taken place in a house the fire was regarded as polluted ; hence it was extinguished and fresh fire was obtained from a neighbour.[5] Similarly the Birhors, a very primitive tribe who live in the jungles of Chota Nagpur (India), think that a hut in which a person has died is infected with the pollution of death. Hence, when the corpse has been carried out of the hut, all the water, cooked food, ashes on the hearth, burning charcoal or other fuel, are thrown away ; and when the pall-bearers return home after the burial or cremation, all old fires in the settlement are extinguished, and the cinders and ashes on the hearths of all the houses are thrown away. Then a new fire

[1] Homer, *Od.* viii. 283-284.
[2] Homer, *Iliad*, i. 589-594 ; Apollodorus, i. 3. 5.
[3] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 740-746.
[4] Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24.
[5] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 24.

is kindled in some hut by the friction of two pieces of wood, and all the other families in the settlement light their fires from it.[1] Among the Awemba and other tribes of Northern Rhodesia all the fires in a village are extinguished as soon as a death in one of the families has been notified; a new fire is afterwards ceremonially kindled for the whole village.[2] The Tumbuku of Nyasaland, in Central Africa, conceive of lightning as a black bird like a cock, which kills people with its fiery breath and marks them with its claws. When a person has been killed by lightning, a medicine-man is called in. He washes all the villagers with a medicine of which he has the secret, and all the fires are taken from the houses and thrown down at cross-roads. Then the medicine-man kindles new fire by friction and lights again the village hearths.[3] Thus we can understand why in Lemnos, the fire-god's island, the fires were annually extinguished for nine days while honours were being paid to the dead:[4] the pure element might not be defiled by contact with the corruption of death. In more primitive times the extinction may have sprung from a delicate consideration for the ghosts, who might be burned, or at least singed, by the flames.[5]

III. 83. **Juno (is worshipped) by Sparta and Pelopid Mycenae.** —Ovid was probably thinking of the line of Homer in which Hera (Juno) declares that, "Verily to me three cities are by far the dearest, Argos and Sparta and Mycenae of the wide ways".[6] In historical times the worship of Hera was not conspicuously associated with Sparta, though in the second century of our era Pausanias found there a temple of Argive Hera and a sanctuary of Protectress Hera, who had

[1] Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Birhors* (Ranchi, 1925), pp. 263 *sq.*, 517.

[2] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1911), pp. 184, 286, compare p. 285; H. S. Stannus, "Notes on some Tribes of British Central Africa", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl. (1910), pp. 315, 326, 327.

[3] Donald Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People* (London, 1914), p. 132.

[4] For more instances of the custom of extinguishing fires after a death see L. Nyuak, "Religious rites and customs of the Iban or Dyaks of Sarawak," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) p. 170 (in Borneo); J. Dols, "La vie chinoise dans la province de Kan-sou (Chine)," *Anthropos*, x.-xi. (1915–1916) p. 753; *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 267 *sq.* The number of instances could easily be increased.

[5] See my article, "On certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the primitive Theory of the Soul", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) p. 90.

[6] Homer, *Iliad*, iv. 51-52.

once saved Sparta from an inundation of the river.[1] He also saw an ancient wooden image of Hera, surnamed Aphrodite, to which Spartan mothers were wont to offer sacrifices at the marriage of their daughters.[2] Further, Pausanias informs us that the Spartans sacrificed goats to Hera under her title of Goat-eating, and that they were the only Greeks who did so.[3] Argolis was pre-eminently the home of the worship of Hera; outside of Argolis, indeed, as Professor Nilsson has pointed out, her worship was comparatively rare.[4] It is said that Hera had a dispute with Poseidon for the possession of Argolis, and that Inachus and his assessors, to whom the question was submitted for arbitration, assigned the country to Hera.[5] Her great temple, the Heraeum, was neither at Mycenae nor at Argos, but on a lower spur of the mountains which bound the Argolic plain on the east, distant about three miles south-east of Mycenae. The sacred precinct was excavated by American archaeologists under Dr. Waldstein (afterwards Sir Charles Walston) in 1892 and subsequent years.[6] As Mycenaean remains, including a beehive tomb, have been discovered near the Heraeum, there are grounds for thinking that the sanctuary occupies the site of a Mycenaean palace, and that Hera herself is a direct descendant of the Mycenaean goddess whom the king worshipped in his domestic chapel. If that was so, she is to be reckoned among the goddesses whom the Greeks took over from their predecessors, the people who created the Minoan and Mycenaean civilization, but whose language and racial affinities are still unknown.[7] However, the view of Hera's Mycenaean origin is not free from difficulties; for she had a very ancient temple at Olympia, where no Mycenaean remains have been found.[8] Ovid applies the epithet Pelopid to Mycenae because Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, was a grandson of Pelops, who came from Mount Sipylus in Lydia to the Peloponnese and

[1] Pausanias, iii. 13. 8.
[2] Pausanias, iii. 13. 9.
[3] Pausanias, iii. 15. 9.
[4] Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, p. 432.
[5] Pausanias, ii. 15. 5, ii. 22. 4.
[6] See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iii. pp. 165 *sqq.*
[7] For the evidence see Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, pp. 410 *sq.*, 431 *sq.*
[8] Martin P. Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 432.

gave his name to the country.[1] The tradition points to an Asiatic origin of the later kings of Mycenae.

III. 84. **the Maenalian country worships Faunus, whose head is crowned with pine.**—Maenalia was a district of Arcadia, which took its name from Maenalus, a mountain sacred to Pan,[2] whom Ovid here and elsewhere identified with Faunus.[3]

III. 87. **look into the foreign calendars, and you shall find in them also a month named after Mars.**—The foreign calendars to which Ovid appeals in the following lines are those of Latin or Sabine peoples and therefore of peoples akin to the Romans. Of these calendars we know hardly anything apart from the few brief notices of Ovid and Censorinus. The statement that the month of March (*Martius*) was found in the Latin calendars, other than the Roman, is confirmed, as we have seen, by the evidence of Varro and the Praenestine calendar.[4] But according to Ovid, though the month occurred in the other Latin calendars, it was not, as in the old Roman calendar, the first month of the year, but in some of them it was the third, in others the fourth, in one the fifth, and in one the sixth. This statement creates a difficulty, for according to Festus the month of March was the first month of the year in Latium as well as at Rome,[5] and the same thing seems to be also implied, though it is not definitely stated, by Varro, who, as quoted by Censorinus, thought that the Romans borrowed the names of the months from the Latins, and that among the Latins, as among the ancient Romans, the fifth month (July) was called Quintilis (that is, Fifth).[6] But this appears to contradict the statement of Ovid (lines 89 and 93) that in the Faliscan and Laurentine calendars the fifth month was March (*Martius*). And that in the Laurentine calendar March was the first (not the fifth) month seems implied by the statement of Macrobius, apparently following Varro and the pontifical books, that the Laurentes prayed to Juno " on all the Calends from the month

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 104 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, ii. 9 *sqq.*; Pausanias, v. 1. 6, v. 13. 7.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 36. 7-8.

[3] See *Fasti*, ii. 271, with the note. As to Mount Maenalus and its association with Pan compare *Fasti*, v. 89.

[4] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 4.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Martius ", p. 136 ed. Lindsay, " *Martius mensis initium anni fuit et in Latio, et post Romam conditam* ".

[6] Varro, quoted by Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 10-13.

of March to December ".[1] Again, Ovid's statement (line 92) that in the Tusculan calendar March was the third month (May) seems inconsistent with the statement of Macrobius that the name of May was thought by some people to have been borrowed by Rome from Tusculum.[2] Lastly, Ovid's affirmation (line 94) that in the Curensian calendar March was the fourth month (June) appears to conflict with the statement of Cincius, quoted by Macrobius, that among the Latins the month of June was formerly called Junonius, and that this name was long preserved in the calendars of Aricia and Praeneste.[3] Ovid himself has recorded that the name Junonius occurred as the name of a month in the Arician, Laurentine, Lanuvian, Tivoline, and Praenestine calendars.[4] However, in all these cases, except in the case of Quintilis, we do not know what places the months called May (*Maius*) and June (*Junonius*) occupied in the various Latin calendars ; it is possible that in the Latin calendars these two months, like March, occupied places quite different from those which were assigned to them in the Roman calendar. One thing at least seems clear. If Ovid is right in his statements as to the places allotted to the month of March in the Latin calendars, the order of the months in these calendars must have been very different from that of the months in the Roman calendar.

Another serious discrepancy between the Roman and the Latin months was in the number of days assigned to each. In the Alban calendar March had 36 days, May had 22 days, August had 18 days, and September had 16 days. In the Tusculan calendar July had 36 days, and October had 32 days. In the Arician calendar October had 39 days.[5] Thus even if the order of the months had been the same in the Roman and the Latin calendars, and the year had begun with the same month in them all, the months in some of the calendars would not have coincided exactly with the months of all the rest on account of the inequality in the number of their days.

III. 89. **the fifth (month) in the Faliscan calendar.**—The Faliscan calendar is that of the Faliscans, the people of Falerii. As Falerii was a city in south-eastern Etruria, it is at

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn*, i. 15. 18.
[2] Macrobius, *Saturn*, i. 12. 17.
[3] Macrobius, *Saturn*, i. 12. 30.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 59-63.
[5] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 6.

first sight surprising that Ovid should refer to the Faliscan calendar among the calendars of Latin and Sabine peoples. But the Faliscans were not Etruscans. According to a tradition, which had the authority of Cato, they were of Argive origin,[1] their ancestors having been led thither by Halaesus, a bastard son of Agamemnon, who founded the city and gave his name to the Faliscan country.[2] Down to the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Ovid, the people retained many traces of their Argive origin not only in their Argolic shields and spears, but in their religious rites; in particular the Faliscan ritual of Juno closely resembled that of the Argive Hera, her priestesses and virgin choirs were similar, and her temple was modelled on the Heraeum.[3] The Faliscans spoke a peculiar language.[4] However, the city received a Roman colony,[5] and had a Roman population in the time of Ovid.[6] Indeed, Ovid's first wife was a Faliscan;[7] hence it was natural that he should be acquainted with the Faliscan calendar. The Faliscan inscriptions confirm the historical tradition as to the peculiar language spoken in the district; for besides earlier Etruscan and later Latin inscriptions they include others written in a mixed Latin and Etruscan alphabet and couched in a dialect akin to Latin.[8] Thus we may fairly conclude that the Faliscan calendar to which Ovid here refers was a Latin one.

III. 90. **land of the Hernicans.**—The Hernicans were an ancient people of Latium who inhabited the country near Lanuvium and Alba.[9] It is said that they took their name from their rocks, which in the Marsian language were called *herna*.[10]

III. 92. **the city whose lofty walls were built by the hand of Telegonus.**—Tusculum, an important city of Latium, was supposed to have been founded by Telegonus, the son

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 51 (citing Cato).
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 73-74, *Amores*, iii. 13. 31-35; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 723.
[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 21. 1-2; Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 13. 31-35.
[4] Strabo, v. 2. 9, p. 226. [5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 51.
[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 21. 1.
[7] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 13. 1.
[8] H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, i. (Berlin, 1883) pp. 513 *sq.*
[9] Strabo, v. 3. 4, p. 231. [10] Festus, *s.v.* "Hernici", p. 89 ed. Lindsay.

of Ulysses and Circe.[1] Telegonus is said to have unwittingly killed his father with a spear which was barbed with the spine of a sting-ray.[2] Such spears, which inflict a very deadly wound, were in common use among the natives of the Pacific islands, before these people came under European control.[3] Tusculum was pleasantly situated on the Alban Hills, above the site now occupied by the town of Frascati. In the later years of the Republic and early years of the Empire, Tusculum was adorned with groves and villas,[4] among which the villa of Cicero was the most famous. It was doubtless in consequence of his involuntary parricide that Telegonus was believed to have fled from Greece and found a new and fair home on the hills of Italy.

III. 93. **It is the fifth month in the calendar of the Laurentes.**—The Laurentes were the Latin people whose capital was Lavinium (not Laurentum). It was in their country that Aeneas was said to have landed and married the daughter of their king, Latinus.[5] Augustine makes the strange statement that the Lavinians (by whom he doubtless meant the Laurentes) reckoned thirteen months to the year.[6]

[1] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 71 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 45. 1 ; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 29. 8, *Epod.* i. 29 *sq.* ; Propertius, iii. 24. 4.

[2] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vii. 36, with my note.

[3] G. Forster, *Voyage round the World* (London, 1777), ii. 125 ; Captain James Cook, *Voyages* (London, 1809), i. 215 ; G. Keate, *Account of the Pelew Islands* (Dublin, 1788), p. 315 ; W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Second Edition (London, 1818), i. 278, 322 ; D. Tyerman and G. Bennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the South Sea Islands, etc.* (London, 1831), i. 91 *sq.* ; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition (London, 1832–1836), i. 287 ; Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (London, 1845), ii. 151, v. 61 *sq.* ; A. Cheyne, *A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean* (London, 1852), p. 120 ; T. H. Hood, *Notes of a Cruise in H.M.S. Fawn in the Western Pacific* (Edinburgh, 1863), p. 77 ; K. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 85 ; J. S. Kubary, " Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln ", *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878–1879, p. 50 (separate reprint) ; G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 171 ; J. S. Kubary, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Karolinen Archipels* (Leyden, 1895), pp. 57, 155 ; C. M. Woodford, " The Gilbert Islands ", *The Geographical Journal*, vi. (1895) pp. 344 *sq.* ; J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), p. 111 ; F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), p. 373 ; M. Girschner, " Die Karolineninsel Námõluk und ihre Bewohner ", *Baessler-Archiv*, ii. (1912) pp. 169, 170, 171 ; G. M. Murdoch, " Gilbert Islands, Weapons and Armour ", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 127 (September 1923), p. 175.

[4] Strabo, v. 3. 12, p. 239.

[5] See above, note on *Fasti*, ii. 679 (Vol. II. pp. 492 *sqq.*).

[6] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xv. 14.

III. 93. **the tenth (month) in the calendar of the hardy Aequiculans.**—The Aequiculans or Aequians were a hardy and warlike tribe of mountaineers inhabiting the highlands of the upper valley of the Anio. Their conquest cost Rome many a hard struggle. Cicero calls them "a great and fierce people, a menace to the fortunes of the Roman people."[1] Virgil describes them hunting in the woods of their wild mountains, ploughing with arms in their hands, and delighting to collect booty and live by plunder.[2]

III. 94. **the fourth (month) in the calendar of the folk of Cures.**—Cures was the most famous city of the Sabine country: both in inscriptions and in ancient writers the epithet Sabine was often attached to its name.[3] It was from Cures that Numa came to reign as king over Rome.[4] The people of Cures would seem to have borne a high character; for, speaking of a Sabine man, to whom he had entrusted the manuscript of his book *Orator*, Cicero remarked in a letter to a friend that the messenger's modest face and steadfast speech seemed to have something of Cures about it.[5]

III. 95. **the soldierly Paelignians.**—The Paelignians dwelt on the Apennines, in the heart of Italy; their capital was Corfinium.[6] They were a small but very brave people, who gave the Romans many proofs of their valour in the field both as enemies and allies. They revolted from Rome in the Marsic or Social War, and their chief town Corfinium was to have been the capital of a free and united Italy.[7] But the dreadful defeat inflicted by Sulla on the rebels at the Colline Gate (the most desperate battle in which the Roman armies ever engaged) saved Rome and deferred the achievement of a free and united Italy for two thousand years. Ovid speaks of the Paelignians as of Sabine descent, but according to another tradition they were an Illyrian people, who had come to Italy and occupied part of the country under the leadership of their king, Volsimius Lucullus.[8]

[1] Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 20. 36.
[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 744-749; compare *id.* viii. 603-613.
[3] Livy, i. 18. 1; Festus, *s.v.* "Quirina tribus", p. 304 ed. Lindsay; H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 1. p. 478.
[4] Livy, i. 18; Plutarch, *Numa*, 3. 4.
[5] Cicero, *Epist. ad Familiares*, xv. 20. 1.
[6] Strabo, v. 3. 4, p. 231, v. 3. 11, p. 238.
[7] Strabo, v. 4. 2, p. 241. [8] Festus, *s.v.* "Peligni", p. 248 ed. Lindsay.

III. 99. **Nor had the ancients as many Calends as we have now : their year was short by two months.**—Ovid has already mentioned and discussed the tradition that the old Roman year had only ten months.[1]

III. 105. **the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas.**—The Pleiades were thought to be seven daughters of Atlas by Pleione, daughter of Ocean ; they were said to have been born at Cyllene in Arcadia.[2]

III. 107. **there are two Bears, of which the Sidonians steer by Cynosura, while the Grecian mariner keeps his eye on Helice.**—The constellations of the Great Bear and the Little Bear bore these names in antiquity, but they were also known by the names of Helice and Cynosura respectively. The Greeks are said to have steered by the Great Bear (Helice) and the Phoenicians by the Little Bear (Cynosura). Hence the Little Bear was often called Phoenice, no doubt in the sense of " the Phoenician Star ".[3]

III. 109. **the signs which the brother travels through in a long year, the horses of the sister traverse in a single month.**—The signs in question are the constellations in the zodiac, and the brother and sister are Apollo and Diana, whom Ovid here identifies with the sun and moon.

III. 113. **Heaven's marching ensigns were beyond their reach, not so their own.**—Ovid puns on the double sense of *signa*, which meant both signs of the zodiac and military standards (ensigns). The former, he says, were beyond the grasp, that is, the comprehension, of the ancient Romans ; to the latter the old Romans clung fast.

III. 115. **Their ensigns were of hay.**—Plutarch says that when Romulus marched to attack King Amulius, each company of a hundred men was headed by a standard-bearer who carried a pole with hay and brushwood tied about it.[4]

III. 117. **A long pole carried the hanging bundles (*maniplos*); from them the private (*maniplaris*) soldier takes his name.**

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 27 *sq.*, with the note.

[2] Apollodorus, iii. 10. 1, with my note ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 192, *Astron.* ii. 21.

[3] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 36-44 ; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 41. 104-106 ; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 1 and 2 ; Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 3. 1 *sq.* ; Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 2 ; Germanicus, *Aratea*, 40-47, with the scholia (p. 382 ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[4] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 8. 6.

—In the old Roman line of battle the men were divided into companies.[1] The name for a company was *manipulus*, which also means a bundle, as when Varro speaks of bundles (*manipuli*) of dry hay carried from the meadow to the house.[2] Ovid supposes that a company took its name from the bundle of hay which, fastened to a pole, formed its standard. Plutarch explained in the same way the name *manipulus* applied to a company of soldiers.[3] But in its military application the term may very well have been used in a collective sense without any reference to the hay fastened on a pole.

III. 119. **Hence through ignorance and lack of science they reckoned lustres, each of which was too short by ten months.** —Here Ovid uses the term lustre (*lustrum*) to designate a period of five years, the sense in which the term is defined by Varro and Festus.[4] And since in Ovid's view the old Roman year comprised only ten months, it will follow that every such year was short of a solar year by two months, and that every lustre or period of five years was short of the true reckoning by ten months. But the Romans of later times also used the term lustre (*lustrum*) to denote a period of four years; Ovid himself, however, seems always to have reckoned a lustre at five years.[5]

III. 123. **whether because that is the number of the fingers by which we are wont to count.**—We can hardly doubt that the decimal system is based on the accident of our having ten fingers. But 10 is a very inconvenient number for calculation, since it is only divisible by 2. Nature or the Deity would have done better to give us the basis of a duodecimal system by furnishing us with twelve fingers, for 12 is divisible by 2, 3, 4, and 6. But even without the two additional digits the same end could have been accomplished very simply, if only the founder of the modern decimal system had added a single new numerical symbol to denote eleven and had used the figure 10 to denote twelve instead of ten. But legislators are seldom philosophers.

[1] Livy, viii. 8. 3-7.
[2] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 49. 1.
[3] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 8. 6.
[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 11; Festus, *s.v.* "Lustra", p. 107 ed. Lindsay.
[5] See *Fasti*, iii. 163 *sq.*, with the note (below, pp. 46 *sq.*)

III. 124. **or because a woman brings forth in twice five months.**—Ovid has already suggested this reason for a year of ten months.[1]

III. 127. **Hence Romulus divided the hundred senators into ten groups.**—Romulus is said to have instituted a senate of one hundred members, but to have afterwards doubled the number by adding a hundred Sabine senators when the Sabines under King Tatius were incorporated in the Roman people.[2] However, according to another tradition the number of Sabine members added to the senate was only fifty.[3]

III. 128. **and instituted ten companies of spearmen (*hastati*).**—In this and the following lines Ovid is describing what he believes to have been the formation in which a Roman legion was originally drawn up in order of battle. He supposes that it was marshalled in three lines called respectively *hastati* ("spearmen") in front, *principes* (first-line men) behind them, and *pilani* (javelin-men) in the rear. This was in fact the regular order of a legion in battle array during the Republic, but the third line seems to have been more commonly known as *triarii* (third-line men) than as *pilani* (javelin-men).[4] Further, Ovid supposes that originally each of the three lines was divided into ten companies or maniples. This certainly was the arrangement in later times as recorded by Polybius;[5] but at an earlier period, as we learn from Livy, each line was divided, not into ten, but into fifteen companies or maniples.[6] Thus in regard to the division of each line into ten companies Ovid appears to have mistaken a later usage for the original one supposed to have been instituted by Romulus.[7]

III. 130. **and so too with the men who served on horses furnished by the State.**—Ovid apparently means that just as the infantry line was divided into ten companies, so a

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 33-34, with the note.

[2] Livy, i. 8. 7; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 13. 1, and 20. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 12. 1-2, ii. 47. 1.

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 47. 2.

[4] Livy, viii. 8. 4-13; Polybius, vi. 21. 7-10.

[5] Polybius, vi. 24. 3-4.

[6] Livy, viii. 8. 5-8.

[7] As to the formation of the legion in three lines (*hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, or *pilani*) compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 89; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], i. 783-785, *s. v.* 'Exercitus"; W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7], pp. 381 *sqq.*

regiment of cavalry was divided into ten squadrons. That certainly was the number of squadrons in a cavalry regiment in the time of Polybius,[1] and it may well have been the original number in the earliest times. For Romulus is said to have enrolled a regiment of cavalry three hundred strong,[2] and as a squadron (*turma*) of cavalry numbered thirty men,[3] such a regiment would include exactly ten squadrons. It is possible, but less likely, that Ovid was thinking of the subdivision of the squadron rather than of the regiment, for a squadron was subdivided into three troops (*decuriae*), each of ten men, and commanded by a *decurio*,[4] so the decimal system was carried out both in the number of squadrons in a regiment and in the number of men in a troop. In the early days of Rome every cavalry man was allowed by the State a sum of money for the purchase of a horse.[5] It is to this allowance made by the State that Ovid alludes in the present line. But in 403 B.C., when things were going ill during the long siege of Veii, volunteers offered to serve in the cavalry on their own horses without putting the State to expense. The offer was gratefully accepted, and from that time began the practice of cavalrymen riding their own chargers.[6]

III. 131. **Nay, Romulus assigned just the same number of divisions to the tribes, the Titienses, the Ramnes, and the Luceres.**—Romulus is said to have divided each of the three ancient Roman tribes (the Ramnes or Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres) into ten subdivisions or wards (*curiae*), each of which was called a *curia* and presided over by a magistrate called a *decurio*.[7] The Romans believed that the very name tribe (*tribus*) signified " a third " and was derived from the division of the people and the country into three parts. Varro says : " The Roman territory was at first divided into three parts, whence were named the tribes (*tribus*) of the Titienses, the Ramnenses, and the Luceres. According to Ennius, the

[1] Polybius, vi. 25. 1. [2] Livy, i. 13. 8 ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 13. 1.
[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 91 ; Festus, *s.vv.* " Turmam " and " Turma ", pp. 484, 485 ed. Lindsay. [4] Varro and Festus, *ll.cc.*
[5] Livy, i. 43. 9 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Equestre aes ", p. 71 ed. Lindsay ; Gaius, *Institutiones*, iv. 27. [6] Livy, v. 7.
[7] Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 8. 14 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 7 ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 2.

name Titienses was derived from Tatius, and the name Ramnenses from Romulus; according to Junius, the name Luceres is derived from Lucumo. But Volnius, who wrote Etruscan tragedies, used to say that all these names were Etruscan."[1] With regard to the names Ramnenses and Titienses the ancients seem to have been agreed that they were derived from Romulus and Tatius (the Sabine king of Rome) respectively,[2] but Livy says that the derivation of the name Luceres was uncertain.[3] The usually accepted derivation appears to have been the one mentioned by Varro, namely from *lucumo*, which was an Etruscan word signifying "king". In Etruria there were twelve *lucumones* or kings, of whom one ranked above all the rest.[4] According to Varro, when Romulus was at war with Tatius, the Sabine king, he called on the kings (*lucumones*) of Etruria for help. One of them came and fell in the battle with Tatius; but Romulus named one of the three tribes after him and called one of the streets in Rome the Tuscan Street (*Tuscus vicus*).[5] Another explanation of the name Luceres was that it was derived from *lucus*, "a grove", and designated the multitude of broken men, such as escaped slaves and criminals, who had taken sanctuary in the Asylum which Romulus had established for the use of such persons in the grove, or in the place between the groves, on the Capitol.[6] If we accept this explanation of the name, it will seem to follow that the population of Rome under the early kings was composed of three elements, the original Romans under Romulus (the *Ramnenses*), the Sabines under Tatius (the *Titienses*), and the mixed rabble of refugees from all parts, the Men of the Grove (the *Luceres*), who had taken shelter from their pursuers in the Asylum.

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 55. As to the derivation of *tribus*, "tribe", from *tres*, "three", compare Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 2; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 30, p. 88 ed. Wuensch; *id.*, *De magistratibus*, i. 47, p. 160 ed. Bekker.

[2] Livy, i. 13. 8; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 1; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 560.

[3] Livy, i. 13. 8.

[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 475.

[5] Varro, cited by Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 560; Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 8. 14.

[6] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 1. As to the Asylum see Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 431 *sqq.*, with the note; Livy, i. 8. 5-6, i. 30. 5; Florus, i. 1. 9.

III. 134. **That is the period for which a sad wife mourns for her husband.**—Ovid has already referred to the ten months' mourning of a widow in connexion with a year of ten months.[1]

III. 135. **If you would convince yourself that the Calends of March were really the beginning of the year.**—The following proofs that the first of March was originally the first day of the year are adduced also by Macrobius, who may have copied Ovid.[2]

III. 137. **the laurel branch of the flamens, after remaining in its place the whole year, is removed (on that day).**—Macrobius also mentions that at the beginning of March the old laurels were changed for new at the houses of the flamens, at the house of the (Sacrificial) King, and at the (Old) Chapel of the Wards.[3] Solinus says simply that on the first of March the old laurels were changed for green laurels.[4] At a later time the custom of renewing the laurels was transferred from Old New-year's Day (the first of March) to New New-year's Day (the first of January); this we learn from the author of the *Geoponica*, who says that laurel leaves were given to the magistrates by the people on the first of January.[5] We have seen grounds for thinking that the original motive for hanging oak leaves on doors was not so much to do honour to the inmates as to protect them against evil magic and evil spirits, the leaves being supposed to possess the power of repelling these malignant and dangerous powers.[6] The same interpretation applies to the custom of hanging laurel wreaths or laurel boughs on the doors of houses; for, in the same chapter in which he mentions the custom of renewing the laurels on the first of January, the author of the *Geoponica* informs us that demons hate laurels, that wherever there is a laurel the demons take themselves off, and that such a place cannot be infested by the sacred disease, that is, by epilepsy, just as no place can be struck by lightning where there is a fig-tree.[7] For the same reason people carried sticks of laurel

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 35-36, with the note.
[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 5 *sq.*
[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 6.
[4] Solinus, i. 35.
[5] *Geoponica*, xi. 2, with the note of the commentators, who quote Libanius, *Kalendar. Descript. T. I.* p. 179; Ausonius, *Caesar tempus imperii*, xii., and Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 2. 8.
[6] See note on *Fasti*, i. 614 (Vol. II. pp. 230 *sq.*).
[7] *Geoponica*, xi. 2.

to protect themselves against sorcery.[1] The superstitious man in Theophrastus took a laurel leaf in his mouth;[2] and when it thundered, the Emperor Tiberius used to put a laurel wreath on his head as a protection against lightning.[3]

III. 139. **then the king's door is green with the tree of Phoebus.**—This means that on the first of March fresh green laurels were hung on the door of what was called the King's House (*Regia*), which represented the palace of the ancient kings of Rome. We might have expected that the Sacrificial King or King of the Sacred Rites, who succeeded to the religious functions of the former kings, would have inhabited the King's House, but apparently he did not, despite the statement of Festus that he did.[4]

III. 140. **and at thy portal, Old Chapel of the Wards, the same thing is done.**—Ovid refers to the building called the *Curiae Veteres*, or the Old Wards, where priests performed sacred rites,[5] doubtless on behalf of the thirty *curiae* or wards into which, as we have seen, the three ancient tribes were divided.[6] The priests who officiated at these rites were called Flamens of the Wards (*Flamines Curiales*).[7] The Old Chapel, as we may call it, was situated at the foot of the Palatine, on the line of the original boundary of the city (*pomerium*).[8] It is believed to have stood at the north-eastern corner of the Palatine hill, very near the line of the Sacred Way and the much later Arch of Constantine.[9] But in time the Old Chapel, which was said to have been built in the reign of Romulus, grew too small to hold the congregation which

[1] Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 12; Diogenianus, *Cent.* iv. 14, 78; Apostolius, *Cent.* v. 87; Suidas, *s.v.* δαφνίνην φορῶ βακτηρίαν.

[2] Theophrastus, *Characters*, 28, p. 162 ed. Jebb.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 135. As to the Roman practice of hanging laurels at doors see further C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 378 *sqq.*

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Regia", p. 347, "*Regia domus, ubi rex habitat*". Servius, perhaps more correctly, says that "the house in which the Pontifex (Maximus) dwells is called the King's House (*Regia*), because in it the Sacrificial King had been wont to dwell". See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 363, and note on *Fasti*, vi. 264 (Vol. IV. pp. 193 *sqq.*).

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 155.

[6] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 131, above, p. 34.

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Curiales flamines", p. 56 ed. Lindsay.

[8] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24.

[9] O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* [2], pp. 33, 340; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 43 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], pp. 36 *sq.*, 130 *sq.*

assembled there for the celebration of divine service, and accordingly a New Chapel of the Wards (*Curiae Novae*) was built " near the Fabrician cross-road " to accommodate the numerous worshippers. However, the members of four wards (the Foriensis, Rapta, Veliensis, and Velitia) were so attached to the Old Chapel that they continued to meet there for worship even after the great bulk of the people had transferred their devotions to the New Chapel.[1] Curiously enough, Augustus is said to have been born in the Old Chapel (*Curiae Veteres*).[2]

III. 141. **the withered laurel is withdrawn from the Ilian hearth.**—" The Ilian hearth " is the hearth of the perpetual fire in the temple of Vesta. It is called Ilian because, as we have seen, Aeneas was believed to have brought the Vestal fire from Ilium (Troy) to Italy.[3]

III. 143. **Besides 'tis said that a new fire is lighted in her secret shrine, and that the rekindled flame gains strength.**—The annual renewal of the fire in the temple of Vesta on the first day of March is mentioned also by Macrobius and Solinus,[4] both of whom may perhaps have derived their information from Ovid. We are not told how the new fire was kindled on the first of March, but we may safely surmise that it was done by the friction of wood ; for whenever the sacred fire in the temple was accidentally extinguished, the Vestal Virgins were beaten by the pontiff, and were then compelled, in conjunction apparently with the pontiff, to produce fire by drilling a hole in a board of lucky wood ; the flame thus elicited was then carried into the temple by one of the Vestals in a bronze sieve.[5] In all probability the procedure at the annual renewal of the fire was the same, with the exception of the beating administered to the Vestals.

The custom of annually extinguishing and rekindling

[1] Festus, *s.v.* " Novae curiae ", pp. 180, 182 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 361.

[3] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 29.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 6 ; Solinus, i. 35.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Ignis ", p. 94 ed. Lindsay, "*Ignis Vestae si quando interstinctus esset, virgines verberibus adficiebantur a pontifice, quibus mos erat tabulam felicis materiae tamdiu terebrare, quousque exceptum ignem cribro aeneo virgo in aedem ferret*". In this sentence the pronoun *quibus* is ambiguous. Does it refer to the Vestals alone ? Or to the Vestals in conjunction with the pontiff (no doubt the Pontifex Maximus) ? Or possibly to the pontiffs in the plural, implied in the foregoing *a pontifice* ?

fire with great solemnity, generally by the friction of wood but sometimes by means of the sun's rays reflected from a metal mirror or a crystal, has been common in many parts of the world, including Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. It is still practised with great ceremony at Easter by the Christian Church both in its Catholic and its Orthodox branches. The ceremony is often, as in ancient Rome, regarded as marking the beginning of a new year.[1] The custom was practised, for example, by the Celts both of Ireland and Scotland, with this difference that in Ireland the fire was kindled on the Eve of Samhain, that is, at Hallow-e'en, the last day of October,[2] but in Scotland it was kindled at Beltane, that is, on the first of May. In Scotland all the fires in the district were extinguished the night before (that is, on the Eve of May Day), and on May Day the new fire was kindled by the friction of wood; in the islands of Skye, Mull, and Tiree this was done by making a wimble of oak to revolve in a well-seasoned oaken plank.[3] When we reflect on the close relation between the Latin and Celtic peoples, as attested by the affinity of their languages, we may allow ourselves to conjecture that the annual renewal of the fire at Rome on the first of March was genetically connected with the annual renewal of the fire in Scotland and Ireland on the first day of May and the last day of October respectively; and as the production of the new fire by the friction of wood is certain for Scotland and almost certain for Rome, it is legitimate to conjecture that this was the regular mode of obtaining fire among the ancestors both of the Latins and the Celts. Further, when we remember that the hearth in the so-called temple of Vesta (for it never was a temple in the technical sense) was in all probability merely a continuation of the hearth in the house of the ancient kings,[4]

[1] I have collected the evidence in *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 120-146.

[2] G. Keating, *The History of Ireland*, translated by J. O'Mahony (New York, 1857), p. 300.

[3] John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by A. Allardyce (Edinburgh and London, 1888), ii. 439-445; *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 147 *sq.* As to the Samhain and Beltane festivals in Ireland and Scotland compare J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 256 *sqq.*; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), pp. 227 *sqq.*, 248 *sqq.*

[4] See note on *Fasti*, vi. 257 (Vol. IV. pp. 181 *sqq.*).

we may be permitted to surmise that of old among the Latins, as among the Celts and many other peoples, the annual renewal of the fire was the sequel of its annual extinction not only in the king's house but throughout the country; and that from the new fire kindled on the king's hearth the people obtained a light with which to rekindle the fires on their own hearths.

The custom of annually extinguishing all fires and rekindling them by the friction of wood is particularly common in Africa, which presents so many parallels to the usages of ancient Rome. To the African examples which I have cited elsewhere[1] I may here add another. Among the tribes of Northern Nigeria, for instance, the Mbarawa, who now ordinarily make fire by the percussion of flint and steel, the more ancient method of kindling fire by the fire-drill, that is, by boring one stick into another, "is ceremonially carried out each year by the religious chief. All fires are extinguished in the town, and the religious chief, with the elders, goes through the process of twisting one stick into another. The resultant fire is believed—by the women at any rate—to have been obtained by magic means, and is formally distributed throughout the village."[2] Here the religious chief and the elders perform exactly the same function which was performed at Rome by the pontiff and the Vestal Virgins; and the analogy of Africa speaks strongly in favour of the view that of old all the fires in Rome were extinguished on the first of March, that is, on Old New Year's Day, and afterwards relit from the sacred new fire kindled by the pontiff and the Vestals in the temple of Vesta.

If we ask why people were at pains to extinguish all fires and relight them by a tedious process, the answer seems to be that they looked upon fire as an animate being, who at the end of a year was tired out by the effort of burning continuously for twelve months and needed to be relieved of his burdensome duty by a new and vigorous successor; or at all events that after a brief interval of repose his energies

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 134-136.

[2] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), i. 172.

would be renewed by the process of rekindling and that he would take up his old duties once more like a giant refreshed. The latter seems to have been the Roman idea, if we may judge from Ovid's expression that "the rekindled flame gains strength". It was also the view of a Chinese philosopher, who on this principle explained the ancient Chinese custom of annually extinguishing all fires for three days and then obtaining new fire from the sun by means of a mirror or a crystal. The sage was of opinion that the vital principle grows weaker and weaker in old fire, whereas in new fire it is young and vigorous.[1] Similarly in ancient India it was imagined that the sacrificial fire was exhausted by the labour of carrying the sacrifices to the gods, and that the tired flame became useless for practical purposes until its energies had been artificially restored.[2] Whatever we may think of the truth of this principle, it seems to furnish a sufficient explanation of the world-wide practice of annually extinguishing and renewing the fire.

III. 146. **Anna Perenna begins to be worshipped in that month.**—The worship of Anna Perenna is discussed by Ovid later on in this book.[3]

III. 147. **With March, too, the magistrates are recorded to have entered on office, down to the time when, faithless Carthaginian, thou didst wage thy war.**—In this passage "faithless Carthaginian" is most naturally interpreted of Hannibal, whom the Romans commonly accused of perfidy, of "Punic perfidy", of "more than Punic perfidy".[4] If Ovid was thinking of Hannibal, he must have had in mind the Second Punic War, which began in 218 B.C. But in any case, whether he referred to the Second or to the Third Punic War, which was declared by Rome in 150 B.C., our author was mistaken in thinking that down to 218 B.C. or 150 B.C. the higher Roman magistrates, including of course the consuls, regularly entered on office on the first of March. We know

[1] G. Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise* (The Hague and Leyden, 1875), pp. 139-143. See further *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. p. 137, with the references.

[2] *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, translated by J. Eggeling, Part I. (Oxford, 1882) p. 230 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii.).

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 523 *sqq.*

[4] Livy, xxi. 4. 9, xxii. 6. 12: Horace, *Odes*, iv. 4. 49.

from Livy that in the early centuries of the Republic the date when the consuls took office varied considerably. Thus Livy tells us that in 463 B.C. the consuls entered on office on the first of August, which was then reckoned the beginning of the year.[1] But in 450 B.C. the Ides of May (15th May) was the usual time for magistrates to take up office.[2] In 423 B.C. the consuls entered on office on the Ides of December (13th December),[3] and this was still the regular day for taking office in 401 B.C.[4] But in 391 B.C. the six military tribunes with consular power took office on the first of July,[5] and this was still the day on which the consuls took office in 329 B.C.[6] In 217 B.C. the consul Cn. Servilius entered on office at Rome on the Ides of March (15th March),[7] and this was still the day of entry in 202 B.C.,[8] in 200 B.C.,[9] and in 168 B.C.[10] From the Praenestine calendar,[11] confirmed by Livy,[12] we learn that the practice of the magistrates entering on office on the first of January only dated from 601 A.U.C. (153 B.C.).[13] If we could suppose, as is possible, that Ovid in the present passage refers, not to the Second but to the Third Punic War, which began in 150 B.C., he would be approximately right as to the date when the first of January was fixed for the entry of the higher magistrates on office, though he would still be wrong as to the practice before that date.

III. 149. **Lastly, the month of Quintilis is the fifth (quintus) month, reckoned from March, and with it begin the months which take their names from numbers.**—Ovid's last argument in favour of an ancient Roman year of ten months, beginning with March, is drawn from the numbering of the months from Quintilis (July) to December. All the names of these last six months were formed from numbers, namely, Quintilis, the fifth month, from *quinque*, "five"; Sextilis, the sixth month, from *sex*, "six"; September, the seventh month, from *septem*, "seven"; October, the eighth month,

[1] Livy, iii. 6. 1.
[2] Livy, iii. 36. 2 *sq.*
[3] Livy, iv. 37. 3.
[4] Livy, v. 11. 11.
[5] Livy, v. 32. 1.
[6] Livy, viii. 20. 3.
[7] Livy, xxii. 1. 4.
[8] Livy, xxx. 39. 5.
[9] Livy, xxxi. 5. 2.
[10] Livy, xliv. 19. 1.
[11] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 231.
[12] Livy, *Per.* xlvii.
[13] Compare Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 75 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i.³ 598 *sq.*; W. Soltau, *Römische Chronologie*, pp. 332 *sq.*, 491; W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*⁷, pp. 136 *sq.*

from *octo*, "eight"; November, the ninth month, from *novem*, "nine"; and December, the tenth month, from *decem*, "ten". As the remaining two months (January and February) were not numbered, Ovid inferred that they were not included in the old Roman year. Plutarch and Solinus drew the same inferences as Ovid from the numbering of the six months from Quintilis (July) to December.[1] Afterwards the name of Quintilis was changed to Julius (July) in honour of Julius Caesar, who was born in that month; and the name of Sextilis was changed to Augustus (August) in honour of the Emperor Augustus.[2] His subjects desired that Augustus should give his name to September, because that was the month in which he was born; but he preferred that August should be named after him, because that was the month in which he had been elected to his first consulship and had won great victories.[3] Later emperors tried to substitute their own names or the names of members of their families for the names of one or other of the four remaining numbered months (September, October, November, December), but these changes of nomenclature were not permanent; the new names were afterwards either changed by the same emperors or dropped after their death.[4] Thus Caligula gave the name of his father Germanicus to the month of September,[5] and Domitian called the months of September and October by the names of Domitianus and Germanicus after himself, for he had assumed the title of Germanicus; but after his assassination the new names were erased from inscriptions and the old names September and October restored to their places in the calendar.[6]

III. 151. **(Numa) Pompilius, who was escorted to Rome from the lands where olives grow, was the first to perceive**

[1] Plutarch, *Numa*, 19, *Quaest. Rom.* 19; Solinus, i. 35-36.

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 16; Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 3; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 76. 1; Dio Cassius, xliv. 5. 2, xlv. 7. 2; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 102 and 111, pp. 141 *sq.*, 149 *sq.* ed. Wuensch.

[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 2; Dio Cassius, lv. 6. 6-7. The decree of the Senate on the subject is quoted by Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 12. 35) and confirms the statements of these writers.

[4] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 17.

[5] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 15. 2.

[6] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 13. 3; Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 4; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 36.

that two months were lacking to the year.—Ovid has already ascribed to Numa the institution of two new months (January and February) for the purpose of bringing an old year of ten months into harmony with the solar year.[1] By "the land where the olives grow" Ovid means the Sabine country, of which Numa was a native. He was brought to Rome from Cures, the Sabine capital.[2] Juvenal alludes to the Sabine olives,[3] and Virgil applies the adjective "olive-bearing" to the Sabine town of Trebula Mutusca.[4] Columella says that the olive loves neither low nor high ground but moderate slopes like those of the Sabine country in Italy and in the whole province of Baetica (Andalusia).[5]

III. 153. **whether he learned that from the Samian sage who thought that we could be born again.**—"The Samian sage" is Pythagoras, a native of Samos, who taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and their rebirth in other bodies.[6] There was a popular notion in antiquity that King Numa had been a pupil of Pythagoras and had imbibed from the philosopher the wisdom which he afterwards embodied in his legislation. But the notion was emphatically rejected and combated on chronological grounds by Livy, Cicero, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Livy says that Pythagoras was teaching philosophy at Croton, Metapontum, and Heraclea in Southern Italy in the reign of Servius Tullius, more than a hundred years after the time of Numa.[7] Cicero, in the person of Scipio, stigmatizes as an ignorant and absurd fiction the idea that Numa had been a pupil of Pythagoras, since the philosopher had not come to Italy till the beginning of the reign of Tarquin the Proud, in the sixty-second Olympiad, about a hundred and forty years after the death of Numa.[8] Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the tradition that Numa was a pupil of Pythagoras and that he had been studying

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 43 *sq.* See note on *Fasti*, i. 28 (Vol. II. pp. 8 *sqq.*).

[2] Livy, i. 18; Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 13. 25; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 3. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 58; Plutarch, *Numa*, 3 *sqq.*

[3] Juvenal, iii. 85.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 711.

[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, v. 8. 5.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1 and 14; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 60 *sqq.*, 158 *sqq.*; E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, i.[4] pp. 271, 418 *sqq.*

[7] Livy, i. 18. 2.

[8] Cicero, *De republica*, ii. 15. 28-29; compare *id.*, *Tuscul. Disput.* iv. 1. 3, *De oratore*, ii. 37. 154.

philosophy under that master in Croton at the very time when he was called to the throne of Rome. The tradition, observes Dionysius, conflicts with the chronology of the life of Pythagoras, for that philosopher lived four full generations after the time of Numa, since Numa succeeded to the kingdom in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad, but Pythagoras dwelt in Italy after the fiftieth Olympiad. And, as a further and stronger proof of the discrepancy between the dates of the supposed contemporaries, Dionysius points out that Croton, in which Numa was supposed to have studied before he came to the throne, was not even founded till four years after the commencement of his reign, the city having been built by Myscelus in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.[1] However, these cogent arguments would seem to have left the popular tradition unaffected; for the learned father Clement of Alexandria speaks of Numa as a Pythagorean, as if the old king's discipleship of the Greek philosopher were a matter of common notoriety.[2]

III. 154. **or whether it was his Egeria who taught him.**— Egeria was the nymph or goddess with whom Numa was said to have consorted, and by whom his wise religious laws were thought to have been inspired.[3]

III. 155. **Nevertheless the calendar was still erratic down to the time when Caesar took it, like so much else, in charge.**— In the time of Julius Caesar the unreformed Roman calendar had fallen into such confusion that the festivals no longer occupied their proper places in the natural year, the harvest festivals not coinciding with summer nor the vintage festivals with autumn. This confusion arose from the criminal conduct of the pontiffs, who enjoyed the privilege of intercalating months or days at their discretion, and availed themselves of their power to lengthen or shorten the year from corrupt motives for the gratification of their friends or the injury of their enemies. This state of things Caesar put an end to by reforming the calendar in his fourth consulship (46 B.C.). After consultation with the best philosophers and

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 59.

[2] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* v. 1. 8, p. 648 ed. Potter.

[3] Livy, i. 19. 5, i. 21. 4; Plutarch, *Numa*, 4. 1-2. See below, *Fasti*, iii. 275 *sq.*, with the note.

mathematicians of his time he abolished the old intercalary month,[1] and decreed that henceforth the year should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, with a single intercalary day inserted every fourth year in order to make up for the quarter of a day by which the ordinary year of three hundred and sixty-five days fell short of a solar year. Further, in order to remedy the error of the calendar at the date of his reform, he inserted two months, with a total of sixty-seven days, between November and December, in addition to an intercalary month of twenty-three days inserted as usual in February; hence that particular year had fifteen months, with a total of four hundred and forty-five days. Thus the calendar year was brought into harmony with the solar year and was thenceforth known as the Julian year.[2] The mathematician by whom Caesar appears to have been chiefly guided in the reform was Sosigenes.[3]

The new intercalary day of the Julian year was inserted, not at the end of the year in December, but at the date at which it had previously been the custom to intercalate a month, that is immediately after the festival of the Terminalia, which fell on the twenty-third of February.[4] As the twenty-fourth of February was, in Roman reckoning, the sixth before the first of March, the twenty-fourth of February was reckoned twice over in an intercalary year, which was hence called a bissextile year (*annus bissextus*), that is, a year in which the sixth day before the first of March is repeated twice over.[5]

III. 163. **To three hundred and five days he added ten times six days and a fifth part of a whole day.**—Here Ovid is in error as to the fraction of the day. The ordinary Julian year fell short of a solar year by about a fourth part, not a fifth part, of a day, and at the end of four years the four parts were added up and inserted as one calendar day.[6] The poet seems to have made the mistake through supposing

[1] As to this month see note on *Fasti*, i. 43 (Vol. II. pp. 35 *sqq.*).

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 6-11; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 40; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 14; Solinus, i. 45 *sq.* (whose statement that Caesar intercalated twenty and a quarter days is clearly erroneous); Dio Cassius, xliii. 26; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 59.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 211.

[4] See above, note on *Fasti*, i. 43 (Vol. II. pp. 35 *sqq.*).

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 15, i. 14. 6; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 10; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 7, p. 41 ed. Wuensch.

[6] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 10; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 14. 6

that the intercalation took place every fifth instead of every fourth year; for in that case the intercalary day might be regarded as made up of five parts, one for each of the five years. That Ovid did really imagine the intercalation to take place every fifth year appears plainly from his statement that the intercalary day was to be added to the lustre (*lustrum*), for he seems always to have reckoned a lustre (*lustrum*) as five years. Thus in one passage he says that Arcas was three lustres old when he met his mother transformed into a bear,[1] and in another parallel passage he says definitely that Arcas was thrice five years old at the time of the encounter.[2] In another passage he speaks of the siege of Troy lasting two lustres, that is ten years;[3] and in two other passages he refers to the wanderings of Ulysses as spread over two lustres, that is, ten years.[4] Further, in another passage, speaking of his long exile, he says that, "In Scythia I have passed the five years of an Olympiad; the time is now passing into that of another lustre,"[5] thus plainly equating a lustre to a period of five years. Of course Ovid was wrong in thinking that an Olympiad was a period of five years, since it was in fact a period of four years. We may conjecture that in both cases the source of his error was the same, namely, a misinterpretation of the ambiguous Latin phrase, *quinto quoque anno*, which, though it means literally "every fifth year", was regularly used in the sense of "every fourth year" and therefore might be correctly employed to denote the periodic recurrence both of the Olympic festival and of the intercalary day in the Julian calendar, though its ambiguity lent itself readily to a misunderstanding.[6] A lustre is defined as a period of five years by Varro and Festus,[7] but later writers used the word for a period of four years.[8] In the

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 183.
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 497.
[3] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 6. 27.
[4] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 10. 9 *sq.*, iv. 16. 13 *sq.*
[5] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 6. 5-6.
[6] Compare R. Merkel, "De obscuris Ovidii Fastorum", pp. iv-v (prefixed to his large edition of Ovid's *Fasti*); Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 165-166, note [331]; H. Peter, in his edition of the *Fasti*[3], Zweite Abteilung, pp. 42 *sq.*
[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 11; Festus, *s.v.* "Lustra", p. 107 ed. Lindsay.
[8] On the variations in the ancient use of the term *lustrum* see L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 77 *sqq.*; Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 158 *sqq.*

present passage of Ovid some editors read *quarta* instead of *quinta* in line 164, which would acquit Ovid of a chronological blunder, but at the expense of the manuscripts, the authority of which is, by a great preponderance, in favour of *quinta*. See the Critical Note.

III. 169. **tell me, thou Marching God (Gradivus), why matrons keep thy feast.**—The festival of Matrons (the Matronalia) was celebrated on the first of March, according to tradition, either because the Sabine women, after being carried off by the Romans, made peace between the two nations,[1] or because the temple of Juno Lucina, the patroness of women in travail, was dedicated on that day.[2] The former explanation is adopted by Ovid in the present passage; the latter is favoured by a note in the Praenestine calendar, which relates that the temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline was dedicated on the first of March after it had been vowed by a certain Albinia.[3] On this day husbands prayed for the health of their wives,[4] and wives prayed for the glory of their husbands.[5] It was the day (the Old New Year's Day) on which presents were sent to married ladies, but apparently by none but married men; for Horace, as a bachelor, thought it incumbent on him to explain that the flowers and incense and white goat which he was making ready were not to be offered to a lady but to Faunus.[6] Presents were sent to women on the Matronalia, but to men at the Saturnalia.[7] Hence in an epigram addressed to a lady friend Martial complains that at the Saturnalia, which were just over, she had sent him nothing at all, not even a trifle smaller than the trash she usually sent him at that festive season; however, he threatens to pay her out in kind at the next Matronalia by sending her a present of equal value, that is, nothing at all.[8] Tibullus describes how on the first of March the streets

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21. 1; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 638.
[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Martias kalendas", p. 131 ed. Lindsay.
[3] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 233, 310. As to the temple see note on *Fasti*, ii. 435 (Vol. II. pp. 383 *sqq.*).
[4] Acron, on Horace, *Odes*, iii. 8. 1, p. 255 ed. Keller, "*Kalendis Martiis Matronalia dicebantur, eo quod mariti pro conservatione coniugii supplicabant, et erat dies proprie festus matronis*".
[5] Ausonius, *Ecl.* xxiii. *De feriis Romanis*, 7-8.
[6] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 8. 1-8.
[7] Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 19. 1.
[8] Martial, v. 84.

and houses of Rome were all in a bustle with people running about to leave presents at the doors of ladies to whom they wished to pay their respects,[1] while the ladies, dressed up to the nines, sat at home to receive them.[2] Tertullian complained that though Christians did not keep the Jewish Sabbath and new moons, they did keep the Saturnalia and Matronalia, when presents were sent about and there was nothing but gaming, feasting, and noise.[3] It seems that a husband might even be awakened before cockcrow by his wife with a request to pay for a present to his mother-in-law on Old New Year's Day.[4]

A remarkable feature of the Matronalia was that at this festival matrons served up food to their slaves, just as masters did to their slaves at the Saturnalia.[5] This, taken along with the custom of sending presents to men at the Saturnalia and to women at the Matronalia, suggests a curious parallelism between the two festivals, as if the Matronalia were a sort of Saturnalia of women.

III. 177. **laborious singer of the Latin days.**—The poet has already paid himself this compliment by the mouth of Janus ;[6] he now repeats it by the mouth of Mars.

III. 183. **If you ask where my son's palace was, behold yon house of reeds and straw.**—Mars is speaking and his son is Romulus. A rude hut, traditionally known as the house of Romulus, was carefully preserved in Rome down to the time of Ovid.[7]

III. 189. **Wealthy neighbours scorned to take poor men for their sons-in-law ; hardly did they believe that I myself was the author of the breed.**—Mars very naturally felt it as a personal reflexion on himself that his fatherhood of Romulus and Remus, begotten on a Vestal Virgin, should be treated by religious sceptics as a cock-and-bull story trumped up to cover the birth of a pair of bastard brats. It was to no purpose that, in the infancy of the city, Romulus sent envoys

[1] Tibullus, iii. 1. 1-4.
[2] Tibullus, iv. 2. 1 *sqq.*
[3] Tertullian, *De idolatria*, 14.
[4] Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 690 *sq.* As to presents at the Matronalia see further Juvenal, ix. 51-52 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* vi. 4. 13.
[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 7 ; Solinus, i. 35 ; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 42, p. 99 ed. Wuensch.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 101.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 199, with the note.

to the neighbouring peoples, politely soliciting their alliance and their daughters as brides for the citizens of the newly founded Rome. His offers were treated with contempt or met by the sarcastic suggestion that he should open an Asylum for women to match the one for men which had raked together a rabble from all the country round about. Gulping down his indignation as best he could, Romulus thereupon gave out that he proposed to celebrate a festival, with horse-races, in honour of Consus, a mysterious god whom the ancients popularly identified with Neptune, apparently on the ground that Poseidon, the Greek equivalent of Neptune, was especially associated with horses. Accordingly the people from the neighbourhood, including the Sabines, flocked with their women to witness the races ; and while they were absorbed in the excitement of the spectacle, the young Romans rushed into the crowd and carried off the Sabine maidens to be their brides.[1] The number of young women thus captured was stated very variously. Some put it as low as thirty, who gave their names to the thirty wards (*curiae*) into which the three old Roman tribes were divided. But others put the number at five hundred and twenty-seven or even six hundred and eighty-three.[2]

There were two festivals of Consus, called the Consualia. One of them was celebrated on the twenty-first of August, as we learn from the Maffeian, Vallensian, and other ancient calendars ; under that date the Vallensian calendar records " a sacrifice to Consus on the Aventine ".[3] The other festival of Consus was celebrated on the fifteenth of December, as we learn from the Maffeian, Praenestine, Amiternine, and Antian calendars.[4] Under this date in the Praenestine and Amiternine calendars there is the further note, " Holidays (*feriae*) for Consus " ; and in the Praenestine calendar this note is supplemented by a mutilated description of the festival. As restored by Mommsen the description runs thus:

[1] Livy, i. 9 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 30-31 ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14 ; Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 7. 12 ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 635 and 636 ; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 2. 1-2 ; Florus, i. 1. 10 ; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5.

[2] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14. 6 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 30. 5.

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 225, 240, 326.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 337.

" Horses and mules are crowned with flowers, because they are in his protection . . . therefore the king rides on a horse." [1]

Of the two festivals that in August appears to have been the principal; for the rape of the Sabine women was traditionally said to have taken place in August, and accordingly we may safely assume that the day of the rape was the day of the festival, that is, August 21, and therefore that Plutarch was in error when he dated the rape on August 18.[2] Accordingly, when the ancients speak of the Consualia as a festival of Consus, without mentioning a date,[3] we may assume that they refer to the August celebration. The central point of the festival appears to have been the god's altar in the Circus Maximus; it was buried underground at the first turning-post (*ad primas metas*) and was only uncovered by the removal of the soil at the time of the chariot-races, which formed part of the festival.[4] Tertullian professes to report the inscription engraved on the altar, in which Consus was coupled with Mars and the Lares and described as " potent in counsel ".[5] The altar stood on the boundary (*pomerium*) of the original city on the Palatine near the south-western foot of the hill.[6] The races were run by horses both in chariots and singly.[7] Also there were mule races at the Consualia in the Circus Maximus, " because that sort of quadruped is thought to have been the first that was ever yoked to a chariot or a vehicle ".[8] At the Consualia, moreover, horses and mules were given a holiday, and their heads were crowned with flowers;[9] but if the note in the Praenestine

[1] The complete note in the Praenestine calendar under December 15, as restored by Mommsen, is this: " *Feriae Conso equi et* ⟨*muli floribus coronantur*⟩ *quod in eius tu*⟨*tela sunt*⟩ *itaque rex equo* ⟨*vectus*⟩. See *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 237, 337.

[2] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14. 1 and 15. 5. Still more serious is the error of Servius, who says (on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 636) that " the Sabine women were carried off at the Consualia, that is, in the month of March ".

[3] As, for example, Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20; Festus, *s.v.* " Consualia ", p. 36 ed. Lindsay; *id.*, *s.v.* " Mulis ", p. 135 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 31. 2; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14. 3; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5.

[5] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5.

[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24, with Holbrooke's note.

[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 31. 2.

[8] Festus, *s.v.* " Mulis ", p. 135 ed. Lindsay.

[9] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 33. 2.

calendar under December 15 has been properly restored,[1] this holiday and these flowers may refer to the December rather than to the August festival. However, as Warde Fowler pointed out,[2] the middle of December is a season when few flowers are in bloom. At the festival on August 21 sacrifices were offered by the flamen Quirinalis and the Vestal Virgins at the altar of Consus in the Circus Maximus.[3] It is to these sacrifices and these races on August 21 that Varro probably refers when he says that "the Consualia is named after Consus; there is then a public holiday for that god, and the games at which the Sabine virgins were carried off are held by the priests at his altar in the Circus".[4] But the public priests also sacrificed at the altar on the Nones of July,[5] that is, on the seventh of July, the day known as the *Nonae Caprotinae*, on which Romulus was said to have mysteriously disappeared at the Goat's Marsh outside the city.[6] We have seen that on that day a remarkable festival was observed which appears to have been primarily concerned with the artificial fertilization of the fig.[7] Can there have been any connexion between that festival and the sacrifice at the altar of Consus on the same day? Both events were in different ways associated with Romulus—the *Nonae Caprotinae* because that was the day of his death, and the sacrifice to Consus because it was at the Consualia that Romulus was thought to have procured wives for his Romans. The mention, in the Praenestine calendar, of the king, that is, of the Sacrificial King, at the Consualia of December 15, is interesting, but tantalizing, for we do not know what he did at it, though the mention of a horse immediately after his name suggests that he may have ridden it.[8] Did he ride in the races? Did he flee on horseback? In any case, as the successor of the ancient kings, the part which he played at the Consualia must have been one which the kings were supposed to have performed before him. This seems to suggest another link between the Consualia and Romulus.

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 237, 337. See above, pp. 50 *sq.*
[2] W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 208.
[3] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5.
[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20.
[5] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 491 *sqq.*
[7] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 491.
[8] See above, pp. 50 *sq.*

A peculiar observance at the Consualia is mentioned by Varro: shepherds ran and slipped on greasy hides.[1]

There was a temple of Consus, in which there was a picture of the triumph of L. Papirius Cursor.[2] As L. Papirius Cursor triumphed in 272 B.C.,[3] we may perhaps suppose that the temple was dedicated in that year to commemorate his triumph. The temple appears to have stood on the Aventine; for a sacrifice "to Consus on the Aventine" is recorded in the Vallensian calendar (as we have seen) on August 21[4] and in the Amiternine calendar on December 12.[5] As such an entry in the calendars regularly refers to rites celebrated on the so-called birthday of the temple, that is, on the anniversary of its dedication, one of these two dates probably refers to the original dedication of the temple of Consus in 272 B.C., while the other may refer to a restoration and rededication of the temple at a later date. As the Vallensian calendar is older than the Amiternine, Aust inferred that August 21 was the day of the original dedication, and that December 12 was the day of its rededication after its supposed restoration by Augustus.[6]

We can hardly doubt that Consus was a very ancient deity, but his true original nature was forgotten in historical times, and classical writers have little more than improbable conjectures to offer in explanation of him. Greek antiquaries and Roman antiquaries under Greek influence identified him with the sea-god Poseidon, on account of the horse-races, which figured prominently in his worship.[7] But the favourite theory seems to have been that he was the god of good counsel, for which there was apparently no other foundation than the purely accidental resemblance of the words Consus and

[1] Varro, *De vita Populi Romani lib.* i., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Cernuus", p. 31 ed. Lindsay, "*Etiam pellis bubulas oleo perfusas percurrebant ibique cernuabant. A quo ille versus vetus est in carminibus: "Ibi pastores ludos faciunt coriis Consualia.*"

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Picta", p. 228 ed. Lindsay, where we should read *L. Papirius Cursor* for the *T. Papirius Cursor* of the MSS.

[3] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 172.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 240, 326.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 245, 336.

[6] Aust, *De aedibus sacris Populi Romani*, pp. 14, 43. Aust's conclusions as to the temple are accepted by G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 202. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3. bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 163 note [32].

[7] See above, p. 50, with the references.

Consilium, "counsel".[1] Modern scholars interpret him as an agricultural god, especially as a guardian of the garnered crops: they derive his name from *condere*, "to stow away", "to store up": they think that his underground altar was connected with an ancient custom of storing the harvested grain in subterranean granaries; and they point out that the twenty-first of August, the date of his principal festival, would be a suitable time for a celebration of the harvest home. They see a confirmation of this view in the relation in which Consus seems to have stood to Ops; for Ops was an ancient goddess of the harvest-home, and her festivals followed those of Consus at intervals of three days both in August and December. It may well be, therefore, as Wissowa has argued, that Ops, the old harvest-goddess, was originally the partner or wife of the old harvest-god Consus, though she was afterwards divorced from him and mated with Saturn, the god of the seed. Her relation to Consus is further suggested by the epithet Consiva applied to her, which may be simply a feminine form of Consus.[2]

This explanation of Consus and of his relation to Ops is plausible. At first sight an objection might be made to it on the ground of the games and horse-races which figured so prominently at the Consualia. What, it may be asked, have

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Consualia", p. 36 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 31. 3; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14. 3; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 23; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 636, "*Consus autem est deus consiliorum*"; Ausonius, *Ecl.* xxiii. *De feriis Romanis*, 20.

[2] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 326; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 23 *sqq.*; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 206-209; G. Wissowa, *s.vv.* "Consus" and "Ops", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 924 *sqq.*, iii. 931 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, "De feriis anni Romanorum vetustissimi", pp. 156-162; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 201-204. Wissowa now accepts the derivation of *Consus* from *condere*. He formerly preferred the derivation from the root, *sa*, which appears in *Saturnus* and *serere*, "to sow". See his article "Consus", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 927. The two festivals of Ops were the Opiconsivia on August 25 and the Opalia on December 19. See *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 327, 337. As to the epithet Consiva applied to Ops see Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 21; Festus, *s.v.* "Opima spolia", p. 202 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 9. 5. In regard to the relations of Ops to Consus and Saturn an expression of Wissowa's ("*Quodsi postea a coniuge suo Ops abducta est Saturnoque in volgi opinione copulata, ingruentibus graecarum fabularum nubibus factum est*", *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 161) seems to imply that in the opinion of that eminent scholar Ops was regarded as the wife, not merely as the business partner, of Consus.

these to do with a harvest-festival and a harvest-god? For it is to be remembered that Varro speaks of games (*ludi*) celebrated at the altar of Consus in the Circus Maximus; and that these games included more than horse-races we know from the testimony of Varro himself, who has recorded the practice of shepherds running and tumbling on greasy hides at the festival.[1] Now agricultural peoples in various parts of the world have been in the habit of playing games at the festivals of sowing and harvest for the purpose of stimulating the growth of the crops by sympathetic magic. Elsewhere I have adduced examples of games played for this purpose by barbarous tribes of Borneo and New Guinea.[2] I can now adduce examples of similar customs observed from similar motives, in Celebes and West Africa. Thus among the Toradyas of Central Celebes, on the day before they begin to plant the rice, the villagers assemble in the rice-field and spend the whole night in games and dances. One game which is always played on these occasions is " calf-kicking ". It consists simply in the young men kicking each other on the calves. The Toradyas say that the gods love to behold this sport, and that, if it were omitted, the other plants in the field, such as maize and cucumbers, would not thrive.[3] Again, among some of the Ibo tribes of Southern Nigeria wrestling " is practised as a religious ceremony, with the idea of strengthening the crops by sympathetic magic. The onlookers at once interfere should either wrestler seem to be growing tired or angry—probably that no ill effect should be produced on the reproductive forces of nature."[4] At Elele, an Ibo town of Southern Nigeria, wrestling matches take place in front of the priest's house every eighth day for about three months, from the beginning of the rainy season in May until the festival of the new yams, during which the feast in honour of the ancestral spirits is also held. The natives

[1] See above, p. 53.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 92 *sqq.* To the evidence there collected for New Guinea add G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), pp. 78 *sq.* (cat's cradle), 80 *sq.* (a sort of hockey). See further note on *Fasti*, iv. 679, below, pp. 325 *sqq.*

[3] N. Adriani en Alb. C. Kruijt, *De bar'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–1914), ii. 248 *sq.*, compare pp. 388 *sq.*

[4] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), iii. 816.

think that " this ceremony will help the crops to grow strong, overcoming evil influences and bearing much increase ".[1] And among the negro tribes of Southern Nigeria in general there are many religious or magical societies whose usual object is to ensure the fruitfulness of farms, cattle, and women, and this they seek to accomplish by the performance of " plays ".[2] For example, among some of the Ibo tribes on the Sombreiro River there is a secret society called Obukele, the members of which are said to practise sympathetic magic in order to ensure fruitfulness for human beings, animals, and fishes. Their usual head-dress is a highly conventionalized fish. " The chief sacrifice is made about December before the beginning of the ' plays ', which last during the whole planting and seed-time until the first yams arrive ".[3] Again, there is an Ibo society called Odu, of which " the principal ceremonies take place at the making of new farms, when the play is held for four months but not again for another two years. . . . Among the Ishielu the Mauun ceremonies are performed for about three months, the whole of the time during which the various species of yams are being planted." [4] We may naturally suppose that the " plays " performed during the time of these agricultural operations were designed to promote the growth of the crops ; and such may have been the intention of the races run and the games played beside the buried altar of Consus at Rome.

A somewhat different explanation of Consus has been suggested by a French scholar, M. André Piganiol. He conjectures that Consus was a god of the infernal regions, and that his pit in the Circus Maximus was, like the *mundus* on the Palatine, deemed to be one of the mouths of hell, in other words, an entrance to the nether world. On this interpretation, which M. Piganiol supports by comparisons with some paintings in Etruscan tombs, the races run and the games played at the Consualia were primarily intended to propitiate the spirits of the dead. This view, as M. Piganiol points out, is not irreconcileable with the assumed agri-

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* (Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 110 *sq.*

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. 754.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. 766.

[4] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. p. 770.

cultural significance of the games and races, since the fertility of the earth is often believed to be dependent on the favour of the dead who dwell under ground.[1]

III. 199. **The rest that happened on that day Consus will tell thee, when thou shalt come to sing of his rites.**—The poet means that he will relate the rape of the Sabine women when he comes to describe the rites of the Consualia, the feast of Consus. As we have seen, there were at least two feasts of that name, the feast on August 21 and the feast on December 15. To which of these feasts Ovid here refers we cannot say; but probably the reference is to August 21, which appears to have been the more important of the two.[2]

III. 201. **Cures and all who suffered the same wrong were furious.**—Here and elsewhere Ovid mentions Cures, the Sabine capital, in the sense of Curenses, the people of Cures.[3] Livy names Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae as the Sabine towns whose inhabitants resented the capture of their women and to avenge it successively attacked Rome, but were defeated, before King Tatius led a more formidable army from Cures with the same intent.[4] Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch agree substantially with Livy, but Plutarch mentions Fidenae in addition to Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae among the Sabine towns which made war on Rome.[5]

III. 202. **then for the first time did a father wage war upon his daughters' husbands.**—The commentators are probably right in thinking that this is a covert allusion to the civil war of Caesar and Pompey, for Pompey had married Julia, the daughter of Caesar.[6] He was a faithful and affectionate husband, and in spite of the difference in years between them she was fondly attached to him. But she died in childbed, and the infant survived her only a few days. Her death was a great grief to her husband and her father, and severed the strongest link between them.[7] Elsewhere,

[1] A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les Jeux Romains* (Strasbourg et Paris, 1923), pp. 1-14. As to the spirits of the dead in relation to the fertility of the earth see note on *Fasti*, ii. 615 (Vol. II. pp. 471 *sq.*).

[2] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 189, above, pp. 50 *sq.*

[3] Compare *Fasti*, ii. 135, vi. 216.

[4] Livy, i. 10-11.

[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 32-36; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 16-17.

[6] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 47. 6.

[7] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 53. 1-4; *id.*, *Caesar*, 23. 4.

in mentioning the war between the Romans and the Sabines, our author speaks of the blood of father-in-law and son-in-law mingled by impious swords.[1]

III. 205. **the wives assembled by appointment in the temple of Juno.**—In the following passage Ovid tells how, in the war which the Sabines waged on the Romans to recover their captured women, the Sabine wives of the Romans, with their infants, threw themselves between the hostile armies and succeeded in making peace between them, thereby forming them into a single nation. The story is also told by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch.[2] Ovid's narrative differs in some points from those of the three historians. He alone, for example, says that the women met for consultation in the temple of Juno.

III. 205. **Among them my son's wife thus made bold to speak.**—" My son's wife " is the wife of Romulus, the son of Mars, for Mars is supposed to be here speaking. According to one account, which Ovid elsewhere accepts,[3] the name of the wife of Romulus was Hersilia.[4] In his narrative of the reconciliation between the two peoples Dionysius, like Ovid, represents Hersilia as taking the initiative, but he does not say that she was the wife of Romulus, only that she was a Sabine woman of good family, a matron, who had been captured along with her daughter.[5] In his account of the peace effected by the women Livy makes no mention of Hersilia,[6] but in another connexion he names her as the wife of Romulus and describes how, moved by the entreaties of the captive women, she successfully interceded with her husband on behalf of the people of Antemnae, who, to recover their ravished maidens, had made war on Rome and had been defeated.[7]

III. 224. **such as could hardly do it were forced to try.**—Some commentators think that the mothers slapped or pinched their infants to make them squall in the hope that their cry *Ah vae!* (" O woe! ") might be mistaken for *ave*

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 801 *sq.*
[2] Livy, i. 13; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 45-46; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 19. Compare Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 2. 9-10.
[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 829 *sqq.*
[4] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14. 6-7.
[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 45. 2.
[6] Livy, i. 13.
[7] Livy, i. 11. 2.

("O grandfather!"). It is enough to suppose that their inarticulate cries were expected to touch the hearts of their grandfathers.

III. 230. **Oebalian mothers.**—Here as elsewhere Ovid uses the adjective Oebalian as equivalent to Sabine.[1]

III. 233. **because Ilia was happily made a mother by me.**—Ilia was the mother of Romulus and Remus by Mars. Ovid had previously called her Silvia.[2] She was commonly known by either name. Silvia was of the royal family of Alba, whose family name was Silvii, "the Woods".[3]

III. 245. **where the Roman king kept watch, on the hill which now bears the name of Esquiline.**—Ovid derives the name of the Esquiline hill from the watch (*excubiae*) which the Roman king kept there. The same derivation is mentioned by Varro, from whom Ovid may have borrowed it.[4] A more probable etymology would derive the name from *aesculi* or *aesculeta*, "oak woods", which some scholars would introduce as an alternate derivation into the text of Varro.[5] Indeed, Varro himself seems to have favoured the latter derivation, for in support of it he mentions that in the neighbourhood there was a beechen grove (*lucus Facutalis*) and a chapel of the Lares of the Oaks (*Lares Querquetulanes*).[6] The hills on which Rome afterwards stood seem to have been in former ages covered with oak woods.[7]

III. 247. **a temple was founded, if I remember aright, on that same day by the Latin matrons in honour of Juno.**—We have already had occasion to notice the temple of Juno Lucina in her grove on the Esquiline Hill.[8] In Varro's time the grove had shrunk within narrow bounds: avarice had encroached on the sacred precinct.[9]

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 260, with the note.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 111.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Silvii", p. 460 ed. Lindsay. As to the dynasty compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 41 *sqq.*, with the notes; *The Golden Bough*,' Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 178 *sqq.*

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 49.

[5] In Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 49, K. O. Müller inserted "*alii ab aesculetis*". A more probable emendation is that of ten Brink, who would read, "*quod ⟨aesculis⟩ excultae a rege Tullio essent*".

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 49.

[7] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 184 *sqq.*

[8] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 435.

[9] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 49.

III. 255. **" Thou, Lucina, hast bestowed on us the light (lucem) of life."**—The title of Lucina, which was bestowed on Juno as the goddess of childbirth, is here derived by Ovid from *lux*, " light ". In an earlier passage of the poem he hesitated as to the derivation.[1]

III. 257. **But let her who is with child unbind her hair before she prays.**—It was a rule that no woman might take part in the rites of Juno Lucina, the goddess of childbirth, unless all the knots on her person were unloosed.[2] On the principle of sympathetic magic any knots on the person of a woman in childbed, nay, any knots in the room where she is confined, are thought to be so many impediments to delivery. Hence it is customary to undo all knots and, on the same principle, to unlock all locks in the house in which a woman is about to bring forth. I have cited many examples of such customs elsewhere ;[3] but a few additional instances may not be out of place here. Among the Malays of the Malay Peninsula, while a birth is taking place, " all locks on door or box are opened, the sufferer's hair is unbound, and any knot in her clothes is untied ".[4] Among the Looboos, a primitive people of Sumatra, while a birth is taking place, the clothes and hair of the expectant mother must hang loose, and all chests and boxes must be open. Further, a brooding hen is, if possible, obtained and set down before the woman in travail, in order that by its contagious example the birth may be hastened.[5] Among the Kayans of Borneo a pregnant woman observes " a number of other tabus peculiar to her condition, most of which apply to acts or situations which may symbolise any difficulty in delivery of the child ; for example, she must not tie knots, she must not thrust her hand into any narrow hole to pull anything out. The tabus of the latter class are observed by the husband even more strictly, if possible, than by the wife." [6] A Hindoo woman during her pregnancy may not wear a knot in her dress where it is

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 449-450, with the note.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 518.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 294 *sqq.*

[4] R. O. Winstedt, *Shaman, Saiva, and Sufi* (London, etc., 1925), p. 121.

[5] J. Kreemer, " De Loeboes in Mandailing ", *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Landen Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, lxvi. (The Hague, 1912) p. 314.

[6] Ch. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), ii. 153.

fastened round her waist.[1] Among the Malagasy, when a woman is in hard labour, all the women present are enjoined to unbutton or unloose their garments, "because that will facilitate the delivery".[2] In Southern Nigeria a supposed way of preventing a pregnant woman from bringing forth "is to steal a cloth from the expectant mother and tie it into knots; another is to call her name while turning a key in a lock".[3] Once more, among the gypsies of Transylvania, as soon as the birth-pains set in, every knot is untied, not only on the clothes of the woman in labour, but also on everything in her neighbourhood; at the same time the husband takes the head off his axe or his hammer,[4] no doubt because the adhesion of the head of the axe or the hammer to the haft is supposed to prevent the child from being born.

III. 259. **Who will tell me why the Salii bear the heavenly weapons of Mars and sing of Mamurius?**—Under the month of March the Rustic Calendars record "a sacred rite in honour of Mamurius" (*Sacrum Mamurio*),[5] and under the date March 14 the calendar of Philocalus records the Mamuralia,[6] that is, the festival of Mamurius. In their songs the Salii, that is, the Leapers or Dancers (from *salire*, "to leap", "to dance"),[7] made mention of a certain Mamurius Veturius, which Varro interpreted to mean *memoria vetus*, "old memory".[8] But a legendary or mythical explanation of the words was given as follows. In the reign of Numa a small shield of the peculiar shape called *ancile*, because it had a piece cut out (*recisum*) on both sides, fell from heaven, and a voice was heard saying that the Roman State would be supremely powerful so long as the shield remained in it. Inspired by the nymph Egeria, the wise King Numa commanded to make eleven other shields of exactly the same size

[1] W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*[2] (Calcutta, etc., N.D.), p. 5.

[2] A. et G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. ii. *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. (Paris, 1914) p. 261.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), ii. 181; compare *id.*, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1911), p. 211 (as to turning a key in a lock nine times to retard delivery).

[4] H. von Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), p. 89.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 280, 311.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 260, 311.

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Salios", p. 438 ed. Lindsay.

[8] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 49 ed. Goetz et Schoell, vi. 45 ed. Müller; compare Plutarch, *Numa*, 13. 7.

and shape, so that when a thief desired to steal the heavenly shield he might be unable to distinguish it from its terrestrial counterparts. The work was skilfully executed by a smith named Mamurius Veturius, who, as a reward of his labours, requested and obtained the privilege of having his name inserted in the Song of the Salii, the leaping or dancing priests, who were appointed to guard the sacred shields.[1] This story Ovid himself tells at full length, with poetical embellishments, later on in this book.[2] To this tale a remarkable addition is made by Joannes Lydus, a writer of the sixth century A.D. He tells us that, lest the shields (*ancilia*) which had fallen from heaven should be worn out by constant use, the craftsman Mamurius made other shields in their likeness, and that misfortunes followed the disuse of the ancient shields; so Mamurius was beaten with rods and driven out of the city, in memory whereof on the Ides of March (March 15) a man, wrapped up in goatskins, was led about and beaten with long slender rods.[3] From this account, combined with the mention of Mamurius Veturius in the Song of the Salii, we may infer, with some probability, that every year, in the month of March, a man wrapped up in goatskins and called Mamurius Veturius was beaten with rods by the Salii and driven out of the city. The day on which the ceremony took place appears from the entry in the calendar of Philocalus to have been the fourteenth of March, which went by the name of the Mamuralia, and not the fifteenth of March (the Ides), as stated by Joannes Lydus. Now Mamurius was associated with the Oscan land; perhaps he was thought to be driven away to the Oscan land to die, for Propertius prayed that the Oscan earth might lie light on the cunning hands of Mamurius, who wrought in bronze,[4] and Mamers was the Oscan form of the name Mars.[5] Further, as we have seen, Varro explained the name *Veturius* as equivalent to *vetus*, "old". Hence it is a plausible conjecture that Mamurius Veturius means "the Old Mars", and that the ceremony of driving his personal representative out of

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "*Mamuri Veturi*", p. 117 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 71; Plutarch, *Numa*, 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 188.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 345-392.

[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 49, pp. 105 *sq.* ed. Wuensch.

[4] Propertius, v. (iv.) 2. 61-62.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Mamers", p. 117 ed. Lindsay.

Rome on the fourteenth of March, that is, on the eve of the full moon (the Ides) of the first month, was intended to assist the growth of vegetation in the new year, at the commencement of spring, by getting rid of the withered vegetation of the old year; for Mars, as we have seen,[1] was originally a deity of vegetation as well as of war. Thus interpreted the ceremony is analogous to the Slavonic ceremony of "Carrying out Death" in spring.[2]

The original twelve Salii or dancing priests are said to have been instituted by Numa to minister to Mars Gradivus, the Marching Mars. Afterwards twelve more Salii were appointed by King Tullus Hostilius. The original twelve Salii appointed by King Numa were called the Palatine Salii, because their chapel was on the Palatine hill. The later twelve Salii instituted by King Tullus Hostilius were called the Colline or Agonalian or Agonensian Salii; their chapel was on the Quirinal hill; hence they were also known as the Quirinal Salii. All the Salii wore embroidered tunics, girt with bronze belts, purple-edged cloaks, and high conical caps; they had swords girt at their sides, and each man bore in his right hand a spear, or rather staff or truncheon, and in his left hand one of the sacred shields (*ancilia*). Thus arrayed they used to go through the city for many days in the month of March, visiting the Forum, the Capitol, and many other places both public and private, dancing solemnly in measured time, chanting their ancient hymns, and clashing their staves against their shields.[3] In March the festival lasted for thirty days.[4] In the city there were stations (*mansiones*), where the

[1] See above, pp. 1 *sq.*, note on *Fasti*, iii. 1.

[2] H. Usener, "Italische Mythen", *Kleine Schriften*, iv. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1913) pp. 122 *sqq.*; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 228 *sqq.*; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 44 *sqq.*

[3] Livy, i. 20. 4, i. 27. 7; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 70, iii. 32. 4; Plutarch, *Numa*, 13. 4-5; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 14 (*Salii Agonenses*); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 285 (*Salii Collini et Quirinales*); H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4944 (*Salii Palatini*). Dionysius doubted whether the weapon which the Salii carried in their right hands was "a spear or a rod or something of that sort" (*Ant. Rom.* ii. 70. 3); but from a relief found at Anagnia, where there were Salii (see below, p. 65), it appears that the weapon was a kind of staff or baton with a knob at each end. See J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 432, note [6]; Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 194 *sq.*, with a reproduction of the relief. Miss Harrison interprets the implement in question as a drumstick, which it certainly resembles.

[4] Polybius, xxi. 13 (10). 12.

Salii halted on their march, probably for the night, and stored their arms. An inscription recording the restoration of these stations by the pontiffs at their own expense was found in the ruins of the temple of Mars the Avenger in the Forum of Augustus; it dates from late Imperial times and mentions that the stations had long been neglected.[1] At these stations the Salii refreshed themselves after their labours by banqueting in a style of magnificence which became proverbial.[2] In ordinary times, when the shields were not in use, they were kept in the sacristy (*sacrarium*) of Mars; when war was declared, the general in command entered the sacristy, moved the shields, and said, "Mars, awake!"[3] It is said that before the Cimbrian war, when for the second time in her history Rome was put in deadly peril by the Gauls, the shields in the sacristy were heard to stir and clang, as if impatient for the signal to march.[4] However, it does not appear that the shields were ever carried with the army to battle, though the Salii themselves were free to perform military service abroad. For the great Scipio Africanus belonged to the college of the Salii, and when he was serving under his brother Lucius in the war against Antiochus the Great, it chanced that the day when the army crossed the Hellespont into Asia was one of the days on which the Salii danced or on which, in technical language, the shields (*ancilia*) were moved. Now such days were reckoned religious, and on them no journeys were lawful. So, as one of the Salii, Scipio was compelled to remain inactive on the European shore and watch the long passage of the army, as it crossed, regiment after regiment, the strait to meet the enemy.[5] But we are not told that the great captain employed his enforced leisure in dancing on the beach, as doubtless he had often danced in full uniform through the streets of Rome.

The Salii were not peculiar to Rome. Similar colleges of dancing priests bearing the same name were found in other Italian cities, for example, at Tibur, where they served

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4944.
[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Salios", p. 439 ed. Lindsay; Horace, *Odes*, i. 37. 2.
[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 603, viii. 3.
[4] Livy, *Per.* lxviii.; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 44a, p. 166 ed. Rossbach.
[5] Livy, xxxvii. 33; Polybius, xxi. 13 (10). 7-14.

Hercules instead of Mars,[1] at Anagnia,[2] and in cities beyond the Po, such as Patavium (Padua) and Sicinum.[3]

Elsewhere I have suggested that the dancing procession of the armed Salii in March (the first month of the old Roman year) may have been intended to rout out and expel the demons that had accumulated in the city during the past year, especially the demons of blight and infertility, who might otherwise check the growth of the crops in spring.[4] At the time of sowing the seed the Khonds, a wild tribe of India, drive out the "evil spirits, spoilers of the seed" from every house in the village; the expulsion is effected by young men, who beat each other and strike the air violently with long sticks.[5] At Whydah in West Africa, when the king's lands were to be hoed and sowed, the people went to the fields singing and dancing, half of them carrying their farm tools and half of them "armed as in a day of battle". Arrived at the scene of their labours they worked to the sound of musical instruments, and returning at evening danced before the king's palace.[6] A French traveller has described how at Timbo in Guinea men hoed the ground for sowing to the chant of women, while between the diggers and the singers a man armed with a musket danced, brandishing his weapon, and two others danced pirouetting and smiting the earth with their hoes; and we are told that "all that is necessary for exorcising the spirits and causing the grain to grow".[7] On the first day when the Barundi of East Africa begin to hoe the fields, a sorcerer dances in front of them with cries and gesticulations "to ban the spirits and bless the sowing".[8]

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* ix. 12. 7; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 285; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 1025, 1101, 1104 ("*Salio Collino*"), 1889, 6233.

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 6259, 6260.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 6690, 6701 (with Dessau's note). See further J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 427 *sq.*

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 231 *sqq.*

[5] W. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India* (London, 1865), pp. 357 *sq.*

[6] Labat, *Voyage du Chevalier Des Marches en Guinée, Isles voisines, et à Cayenne* (Amsterdam, 1731), ii. 80 (p. 99 of the Paris edition).

[7] Olivier de Sanderval, *De l'Atlantique au Niger par le Foutah-Djallon* (Paris, 1883), p. 230.

[8] Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 57. Compare J. J. M. van der Burgt, *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi* (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), pp. 20-21.

If this interpretation of the Salii is correct, their dances were not war-dances in the ordinary sense of the word, and their weapons were not directed against any human foes. They waged war on demons : it was against these invisible enemies that they carried their arms : it was these dreadful beings that they essayed to terrify by the clash of their batons on their shields. The skin-clad man whom they beat and probably drove out of the city was, on this hypothesis, only an embodiment of the legion of spirits swarming in the air, especially the outworn spirit of vegetation of the past year, who was driven away that he might make room for a youthful and vigorous successor, the new Mars, who was thought to be born on the first of March.[1] The view that the weapons they carried and the clangour they made were directed against spiritual, not human, foes, can be supported by analogies in many parts of the world, where swords are brandished, guns fired, metal clashed, and drums beaten for the purpose of expelling evil spirits.[2] To take a single example, the Eghap, a tribe of the Central Cameroons in West Africa, believe that illness is caused by the ghosts of persons who have left no relatives behind them. Hence during a time of sickness these troublesome spirits are driven away ; and as it is believed that the only people whom the spirits fear are the old men who play the sacred instruments, the operation of banishing the ghosts falls to the lot of these venerable musicians. "When all the preparations have been made, the sacred instrument men gather in the head-chief's compound. Here three of them play lustily on drums for about fifteen minutes. At a given signal all of them spring into the air and rush through the narrow opening of the mat fence surrounding the head-chief's compound, bellowing like cattle. They beat the fencing, stamp on the ground, and strike the drums with great vigour. All those people in the town who are supposed to be controlled by evil spirits rush about in great agitation, foaming at the mouth, with their eyes wide open and staring. In the market-place the men

[1] In the calendar of Philocalus the first of March is marked *N(atalis) Martis*, "the birthday of Mars". See *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 260, 310.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 111, 113, 116, 132, 139, 141, 147, 158, 159, 161, 163, 165, 166, 186, 191, 196, 200, 204, 214.

who are supposed to drive the evil ghosts away divide into five sections. At the head of each is a drummer, followed first by a man with a whisk, and then by a number of men armed with spears. A dance is then held, in which the performers spring high into the air, some of them with stalks of elephant-grass (*mbere*) in their hands to drive the ghosts away. No one is allowed to leave his compound while this is going on, and complete silence reigns over the town. Whatever appears, whether human beings or animals, will at once be caught by the evil ghosts." [1]

To the foregoing interpretation of Mamurius Veturius, the man clad in goat-skin who was beaten with staves and apparently driven out of the city, it may be objected that a great god like Mars could not be thus ignominiously thrashed and expelled by his worshippers. We may reply that in India the scapegoat, whether goat or bird, which is driven away for the purpose of expelling disease, is sometimes tricked out in female ornaments, and in this disguise is apparently regarded as an embodiment of the goddess of disease, whether murrain, cholera, or what not.[2] In the Kolhapur District of Bombay, " when an epidemic disease such as cholera prevails in a village, the people of the village install the cholera deity at a place where four roads meet, and worship her for seven or eight days with much ceremony. Everyone brings offerings of coco-nuts, limes, flour, cooked rice and curds, etc., with the beating of drums, to offer to the deity. After worshipping the goddess in this manner for eight successive days they sacrifice a he-buffalo before her. The deity is then put upon a bullock cart and carried through the village with the beating of drums and much ceremony, to be thrown away beyond the village boundary along with the offerings." [3]

[1] L. W. G. Malcolm, " The Religious Beliefs of the Eghāp ", *Folk-lore*, xxxiii. (1922) pp. 358 *sq.*

[2] W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), i. 169 *sq.*; *id.*, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 143; Sunder Lal Hora, " On a Goat employed as ' Scapegoat ' in the Bilaspore District, Central Provinces (India) ", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. xxii. (1926) pp. 137-142. The explanation which I have adopted of the decorated animal or bird is that of Mr. Lal Hora. With less probability W. Crooke thought that the creature might be a substitute for a human victim.

[3] R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), p. 270.

But if in India to this day a goddess can be thus driven and thrown away outside the boundaries, there seems no reason why in ancient Rome the god Mars should not have been similarly turned adrift when he was notoriously past his work.

In harmony with this theory of the Salii we may conjecture that the leaps from which the Salii took their name were supposed to promote the growth of the crops by sympathetic magic; it cannot be without significance that in their hymns these dancing priests named, and probably invoked, Saturn, the god of sowing.[1] We may surmise that the people in the streets, and especially farmers from the country, watched their dances with eager curiosity and prognosticated the height of the corn at the next harvest from the height of their leaps into the air In some parts of Europe, especially in Germany and Austria, it is or was till lately customary to dance or leap high for the express purpose of making the crops grow correspondingly tall; the leaps are executed sometimes by the sower on the field, sometimes by other persons, at certain seasons, such as Candlemas and Walpurgis Night (the Eve of May-day), but especially on Shrove Tuesday.[2] Indeed, in some places men used to assemble in bands for the purpose of thus fostering the growth of the crops by their leaps and antics. This was the case, for example, at Grub in the Swiss canton of the Grisons. The peasants there "assembled in some years, mostly at the time of the summer solstice, disguised themselves as maskers so as to be unrecognizable, armed themselves with weapons defensive and offensive, took every man a great club or cudgel, marched in a troop together from one village to another, and executed high leaps and strange antics. They ran full tilt at each other, struck every man his fellow with all his might, so that the blow resounded, and clashed their great staves and cudgels. Hence they were called by the country folk the *Stopfer*. These foolish pranks they played from a superstitious notion that their corn would thrive the better."[3] These Swiss *Stopfer* corresponded exactly to the

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Saturno", p. 432 ed. Lindsay.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i. pp. 137-139.

[3] F. J. Vonbun, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie gesammelt in Churrhaetien* (Chur, 1862), p. 21. I have quoted the original of this passage in *The Golden*

Roman *Salii*, if my view of that ancient Italian priesthood is correct. For a more distant parallel we may go to British New Guinea, where, after planting their yams, the Papuan men of Kiwai dance with drawn bows and arrows in their hands, singing an invocation or command to the yams to grow.[1]

III. 262. **Inform me, thou nymph who on Diana's grove and lake dost wait.**—Ovid explains a few lines below that the nymph in question was Egeria, the wife of Numa and goddess of a stream of clear water, which, bubbling from the basaltic rocks, used to fall into the Arician lake (the lake of Nemi) at a place called Le Mole, because at it were established the mills of the modern village of Nemi.[2] According to Ovid, the nymph deserted Rome after the death of her human spouse and hid herself in the thick Arician woods, where her loud laments disturbed Diana at her holy rites and drew down on the disconsolate widow the earnest remonstrances of the local nymphs. In compassion for her sorrow Diana turned her into a spring which feeds the lake.[3]

III. 263. **In the Arician vale there is a lake begirt by shady woods.**—The description still holds good, for still the little lake, lying in a deep hollow of the Alban mountains, is embosomed in the woods which clothe its banks and the slopes of the surrounding hills. The town of Aricia (the modern Ariccia), which gave its name to the lake and the sacred grove,[4] was distant about three miles at the foot of

Bough, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, p. 239 note [2]. In a now famous Greek hymn (dating from about 300 B.C.), which was found inscribed at Palaikastro in eastern Crete, Zeus is prayed to leap for the purpose of ensuring crops in the fields, fleecy flocks, and so forth; but it is doubtful whether the preposition after the verb "leap" should be translated "for" or "into". The literal sense of the preposition (*ès*) favours the latter interpretation. See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 5 *sqq.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 931; Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, pp. 475-479.

[1] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 76. Compare E. Baxter Riley, *Among Papuan Head-hunters* (London, 1925), pp. 95 *sq.*

[2] Strabo, v. 3. 12, p. 240; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 763 *sq.* As to the stream see P. Rosa, in *Monumenti ed Annali public. dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica nel 1856*, p. 7; R. Lanciani, in *The Athenaeum*, October 10, 1885, p. 477. The water was diverted a good many years ago to supply Albano.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 482-551.

[4] Cato, cited by Priscian, *Inst.* iv. 21 (vol. i. p. 129 ed. M. Hertz) (*Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. H. Peter, p. 52), "*Lucum Dianium in nemore Aricino*"; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 756, "*Aricino Virbius ille lacu*"; Statius,

the mountain and separated from the lake by a long and steep descent. On this long slope beggars used to take their stand and solicit alms from pilgrims on their way to or from the sanctuary of Diana[1] in her grove (*nemus*), which has bequeathed its name to the modern village of Nemi on the bank of the lake.

III. 265. **Here Hippolytus lies hid, who by the reins of his steeds was rent in pieces.**—It is said that Hippolytus, after being torn to pieces by his horses near Troezen, was restored to life by Aesculapius and transported by Diana (Artemis) to the woods of Aricia, where he took the name of Virbius.[2]

III. 267. **The long fence is draped with hanging threads, and many a tablet there attests the merit of the goddess.**—Ovid is here describing the sanctuary of Diana in the Arician grove, which was one of the wealthiest and most famous shrines in ancient Italy. The precinct occupied a spacious terrace or platform on the northern side of the lake, at the foot of the high and steep bank on which the modern village of Nemi is perched. The site was excavated in 1885 and 1886 by Sir John Savile Lumley, afterwards Lord Savile, who was then English ambassador at Rome. Further excavations were conducted by Italian archaeologists in 1886–1888 and again in 1895. On the north and east the precinct was bounded by great retaining-walls, which cut into the hill-sides and served to support them. Semicircular niches sunk in the walls and faced with columns formed a series of chapels, which in modern times have yielded a rich harvest of votive offerings, some of which may have been seen by Ovid. On the side of the lake the terrace rested on a great wall, over seven hundred feet long by thirty feet high, built in the form of triangular buttresses. At present this terrace-wall stands back some hundred yards from the lake; in other days its buttresses may have been lapped by the

---

Sylvae, iii. 1. 56, "*Fumat Aricinum Triviae nemus*"; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 36, τὸ νέμος τοῦν Ἀρικίᾳ. Compare K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*[15], pp. 465-467.

[1] Juvenal, iv. 117 *sq.*; Persius, vi. 56, with the scholiast's note; Martial, ii. 19. 3, xii. 32. 10.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 735 *sqq.*, *Metamorph.* xv. 487 546; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761-782, with the commentary of Servius; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; Pausanias, ii. 27. 4.

water. Compared with the extent of the sacred precinct the temple itself was small; it was of the Doric order and solidly built of blocks of peperino.[1] A large circular basement at the north-east corner of the temple, raised on three steps and bearing traces of a mosaic pavement, probably supported a round temple of Diana in her character of Vesta, like the round temple of Vesta in the Forum at Rome; for from a votive inscription found on the spot, and dating from the year A.D. 100, we know that at Nemi the goddess bore the title of Vesta added to that of Nemorensis, "the Goddess of the Grove".[2] Probably a sacred perpetual fire was here tended by Vestal Virgins, for the head of a Vestal in terra-cotta was found in the precinct,[3] and we know that the worship of a perpetual fire, tended by Vestal Virgins, was common in Latium.[4] An inscription found in the precinct records the dedication of a perpetual lamp to Diana;[5] and Ovid tells us (lines 269-270) that women whose prayers had been answered brought burning torches from Rome to Nemi in token of their gratitude to the goddess. Their prayers were no doubt addressed to her as a goddess of childbirth, entreating her to grant them offspring and a safe delivery; for this aspect of Diana at Nemi is emphasized by many votive offerings found in her precinct, which include models of the organs of generation, both male and female, and figures of women with infants in their laps or on their arms; one group represents a woman just after delivery, supported by the midwife, who holds the child in her lap.[6] Other votive offerings refer to Diana as a goddess of the chase. These include bronze and iron spears, bronze tridents, images of

[1] For the references to the authorities see *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 3 *sqq.*

[2] G. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, No. 1767; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3243, "*Dianae Nemoresi Vestae sacrum*". For the title *Nemorensis* see further H. Dessau, *op. cit.* Nos. 3238, 3244, 3245.

[3] G. H. Wallis, *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the Site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* (preface dated 1893), p. 30.

[4] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 11, above, p. 5.

[5] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 220.

[6] *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1885, pp. 183 *sq.*; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, pp. 160, 254; *id.*, 1895, p. 424; O. Rossbach, in *Verhandlungen der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Görlitz* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 160; G. H. Wallis, *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the Site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy*, pp. 4, 15, 17; Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, xii. col. 808.

stags and hinds, and multitudes of statuettes representing the goddess clad in the buskins and short tunic of a huntress, with a bow in her hand or a quiver slung over her back.[1] A few rude images of cows, oxen, horses, and pigs, dug up on the site, may perhaps indicate that Diana was here worshipped as the patroness of domestic animals as well as of the wild creatures of the wood.[2] Taken altogether the votive offerings allow us to surmise with some probability that in her woodland sanctuary beside the little lake Diana was conceived essentially as a goddess of fertility both animal and human, and that the reputation which she enjoyed and the devotion which she attracted were based in large measure on her assumed power of blessing with offspring the union of the sexes. Of the objects found in her sanctuary many were brought by Lord Savile to England and are now to be seen in the Museum at Nottingham. A useful catalogue of the collection has been compiled by Mr. G. H. Wallis.[3] The custom of dedicating votive tablets or pictures in holy places, which Ovid here mentions, is often alluded to by ancient writers.[4]

III. 269. **Often doth a woman, whose prayer has been answered, carry from the city burning torches.**—This custom is mentioned also by Propertius.[5]

III. 271. **The strong of hand and fleet of foot do there reign kings, and each is slain thereafter even as himself had slain.**—The priest of Diana in her sacred grove (*nemus*) at Nemi bore the title of King of the Grove (*Rex Nemorensis*).[6] He had to be a runaway slave ; he succeeded to the dignity by slaying his predecessor in single combat, and he held office till he was himself slain by his successor. But before he fought

[1] *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1885, pp. 228 *sq.*; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1887, pp. 24, 195, *id.*, 1888, p. 393 ; O. Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 161 ; G. H. Wallis, *op. cit.* pp. 4, 15, 34 *sq.*

[2] *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1885, p. 153 ; G. H. Wallis, *op. cit.* p. 23.

[3] G. H. Wallis, *Illustrated Catalogues of Classical Antiquities from the Site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy.*

[4] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 37. 89 ; Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 767 *sqq.* ; Horace, *Odes*, i. 5. 13-16 ; Tibullus, i. 3. 27 *sq.*

[5] Propertius, iii. 24 (30), 9 *sq.*, ed. Paley, "*Cum videt accensis devotam currere taedis | in nemus et Triviae lumina ferre deae*".

[6] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 35. 3 ; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, i. 259 *sq.*, " *Ecce suburbanae templum nemorale Dianae | partaque per gladios regna nocente manu*".

the priestly king in office a candidate for the priesthood had to break a branch from a tree in the sacred precinct, and public opinion in antiquity identified this branch with the Golden Bough which, at the Sibyl's bidding, Aeneas plucked and carried with him as a sort of passport on his journey to the world of the dead.[1] Once when the King of the Grove had occupied his unenviable throne for many years, the ferocious madman Caligula sent a stronger man to attack him, professing that the king's reign had lasted too long.[2] The strange rule of this priestly kingdom naturally attracted the attention of Greek writers. Strabo has accurately described the situation of the temple and grove in a deep hollow of the Alban hills ; and he speaks of the priest as if he had seen him, always sword in hand, always on the watch, and ready to defend his throne and his life.[3] Pausanias says that the custom lasted down to his own time in the middle of the second century of our era.[4]

This is all that we know about the priesthood of Diana at Nemi. It is little enough, and does not suffice to explain the title of the office and the remarkable rule of its tenure. In the absence of fresh documentary evidence, which can hardly be expected, the only hope of explaining both the title and the rule seems to lie in the discovery of analogous customs elsewhere, which, being better known and more fully reported, may throw light on the mysterious priesthood of Nemi. Now it has been the belief of peoples in many parts of the world that kings are possessed of a divine or magical character in virtue of which not only the welfare of their subjects but the course of nature, including particularly the fertility of the ground, of cattle, and of women, are bound up with the life of the ruler and will suffer serious damage, or even perish, if his strength fails through illness or old age, and that consequently the most fatal consequences would surely follow if he were allowed to die a natural death. To avert these dangers various measures are adopted. Sometimes the king's reign is limited to a period during which he may reasonably

[1] Pausanias, ii. 27. 4 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 136. Servius is the only author who mentions the branch and its popular identification with Virgil's Golden Bough.

[2] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 35. 3.

[3] Strabo, v. 3. 12, p. 239.

[4] Pausanias, ii. 27. 4.

be expected to retain his bodily and mental vigour, and at the end of which he is put to death in order to avert the disasters which are expected to ensue from the failure of his natural powers. Sometimes, without putting a fixed term to his reign and his life, his people allow him to reign till symptoms of old age or serious illness warn them of his threatened dissolution, which accordingly he is obliged to anticipate either by suicide or by submitting to execution. Sometimes, again, he is suffered to reign and to live so long as he can give proof of undiminished health and strength by repelling any armed attacks made upon him by candidates for the throne ; but should he succumb in the combat, he is immediately succeeded in office by his slayer, who reigns in his stead until he is in his turn slain by his successor. I have suggested that the King of the Grove at Nemi was a king of this sort and held office under this last tenure, and in support of the suggestion I have adduced a number of parallels drawn from various parts of the world, particularly India and Africa. The evidence has been set forth in *The Golden Bough* and I need not repeat or recapitulate it here. I will only mention that the evidence for the closest parallel—that of the Shilluk kings on the White Nile—which I cited on information kindly furnished me by my friend Dr. C. G. Seligmann,[1] has since been published in full by Dr. Seligmann himself,[2] and confirmed by the account of a Catholic missionary, Father W. Hofmayr, who laboured among the Shilluk for about ten years and is familiar with their language and institutions.[3]

But here I may be allowed to cite some confirmatory evidence which has come to my knowledge since *The Golden Bough* was published. The custom of killing divine or semi-divine kings in order to prevent them from dying a natural death is particularly common in Africa. Thus in the Jukun kingdom of Kororofa, a pagan state of Northern Nigeria, " the most striking feature is the semi-divine character of the

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 17-28.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, M.D., *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk, Reprint from volume B. General Science of the Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories, Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum* (Khartoum, 1911); compare *id.*, in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. 459 *sqq.*, *s.v.* " Shilluk ".

[3] W. Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes* (St. Gabriel, Mödling bei Wien, 1925), pp. 178-180.

Jukun king. His person is charged with a spiritual force which makes it dangerous for any one to be touched by him. If he even touched the ground with his hands or uncovered foot the crops would be ruined, and it was no doubt due to this blasting power of his *mana* that in former times the chief spoke to his subjects from behind a screen, a custom which Ibn Batuta records was also followed by the early kings of Bornu. The Jukun king is indeed a demi-god, and with a view to the transmission of his divine spirit unimpaired he was ceremonially slain at the end of seven years ".[1] However, the king was by no means always permitted to live out the full term of seven years. " The king of the Jukun was only allowed to rule for seven years, and if during that period he fell ill, or even sneezed or coughed, or fell off his horse, he might be put to death, the duty of slaying him devolving on the head councillor, who is known as the Abun Achuwo. The chief was, it is said, strangled. The entrails were removed, and the body was preserved by some process which included fumigation. It is said that his brain, kidneys, and heart were dried and eaten by his successor, together with the oil that exuded from the body during the process of desiccation. The custom of king-killing was broken down by a Jukun sovereign named Agumanu, who enlisted a Hausa bodyguard to preserve him from attack, and succeeded in ruling the Jukun for eleven years instead of seven. (A variant says that he avoided death by entrapping and killing the three religious chiefs whose duty it was to kill the king)." [2]

A fuller account of the custom of killing the Jukun kings of Kororofa is given by Mr. H. R. Palmer, the best authority on the history of Northern Nigeria. According to him, the Jukun or (as he spells the name) Jukoñ kings were only allowed to reign two years and were then killed, until a king named Agudu enlisted a Hausa bodyguard, and so contrived to prolong his reign to eleven years.[3] The procedure at the killing of the king and the enthronement of his slayer is reported to have been as follows.

[1] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), i. 254 *sq.*

[2] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii. 60.

[3] H. R. Palmer, " Notes on the Korôrofawa and Jukoñ ", *Journal of the African Society*, No. 44, vol. xi. July 1912, p. 403.

"There was a king made every two years. When a king had reigned two years it was considered that he had enjoyed power long enough, and he was compelled to fight with the senior member of the royal family, who came forward and challenged him to fight until one of them was killed. The descent of the kingship did not go from the reigning king to his sons, but to any of the children of any deceased king. The would-be successor, at about the season of the great feast, used to come into the king's mess suddenly and walk round and then go out. Of course, under ordinary circumstances this would have been a great affront, but the king understood from this that from that time forward he must guard himself. At the first opportunity after this the successor attacked the king. If he killed him, the fight was over for the time; if he did not kill him, another of his relations came forward and challenged the king in the same way. This went on until someone did kill the king.

"After the king was killed his body was taken to the place of sacrifice, the internal organs were removed, and four men were put to guard the corpse, which was placed on a bed and smeared over with salt and butter. A slow fire was lighted underneath and the body thus kept often for two or three months. At the end of this period all the chief men of the country were summoned and the death of the king was officially announced. All the chiefs of the country assembled at the place of sacrifice, which was called *puji*, and all the male members of the royal family attended, among them the king-slayer. Then the chief priest stepped forward and said: 'We wish to make a king.' A chair, a bed and five or six *turmi*'s [1] were arranged in a circle. The chief priest and other important officers sat on the *turmi*'s, the king-slayer taking the chair. Then the chief priest advanced and asked if all were assembled. He then said: 'So-and-so our king is dead; we wish to decide on someone who can maintain us. Here are the whip and the cap.' Then the senior chief present took the whip and the cap and gave them to the chief priest, saying: 'Give us a king.' The chief priest placed the cap on the head of the king-slayer and the whip

[1] "*Turmi*—a wooden mortar for pounding corn, which is turned upside down and used as a seat."

on his neck, saying, at the same time: 'You have killed our elder brother, but to-day you are in his place. Do not let us lack food or drink. If you can give us these let us see if this cap will remain on your head.' The cap was then put on the king-slayer's head, and he twisted his head round sharply with the cap on. If the cap did not fall off he was then made king.[1]

"After that a black dog, a black ox, a black goat, and black fowls were sacrificed at the gate through which the new king would pass on going out. As he went through, the chief priest said: 'To-day the world is yours, but see the corpse of him whom you killed; you must bury what belongs to you. See the blood on the ground; cross it and pass.' Then the new king stepped over the body of the old king, and when he had crossed, the chief priest said: 'What you have done to the dead to-day, to-morrow will be done to you. Do you agree?' And he replied: 'Who has tried to escape the custom of our country, and how can I? I agree!'

"Then followed the burial, which took place the same night. The chief priest clothed the corpse of the dead king, and he, the senior chief, and the new king alone took the body to the place of burial. The new king mounted a horse and the corpse was put astride the horse in front of him. They then went in solemn procession to the place of burial, which is called *puji*. This procession to *puji* took place at midnight, and no women, boys, or strangers were allowed to see it.

"The place of burial was a funeral chamber excavated beneath the floor of a large, domed, circular hut. A hole was made in the centre of the hut with a narrow opening about two feet across, widening out below to about the same size as the hut itself. Its general shape was therefore like an inverted funnel. The roof of this funeral chamber was supported by beams and rafters. The earth was all removed to a distance. The floor was beaten. A kind of ladder was made by which to descend into the tomb.

"The king, the chief priest, and the senior chief carried the old king's body down into the tomb. Prepared for its

[1] "The invariable style of head-dress of the king was a long pigtail which was coiled up on top of the head."

reception were a red cloak, twelve mats, *tulus* (water-jars), a washing-basin, a calabash for drinking, pipe and tobacco, apparatus for making fire, a finger-bowl, some palm wine. The mouth of the hole is then covered over. The roof of the hut is covered by all the people of the village with old clothes, and it is left until it falls in. . . .

"The king might not sneeze. If he sneezed, coughed, had smallpox, or was sick in any way he was killed." [1]

Mr. C. K. Meek suggests that the custom of king-killing may have been an expiatory sacrifice offered on behalf of the whole community, and he adds: "The Rukuba of Rishini used, with the same intention, to sacrifice a victim to the ancestral spirits every seven years. A strong young man was forcibly caught and deposited in the sacred shrine. He was given two calabashes, one for drink and one for food. Every week a goat was brought to him, which he slaughtered and ate. He allowed his hair to grow long. His person was *tabu*, and any one who touched him or his belongings would automatically die. If he left his hut and came to the village all would run away. If he died he was replaced by another young man, but if he lived he was ceremonially killed with arrows at the end of seven years." [2]

With regard to kings in Southern Nigeria, we are informed by Mr. P. Amaury Talbot, whose official position and long residence in the country have afforded him unique opportunities of observation, that "throughout the land, as a general rule, the king combines magico-religious with civil duties, acts as the representative and priest of the town or clan in all dealings with gods, jujus [3] and ancestors and regulates all religious ceremonies. He is often regarded as semi-divine, endowed with the spirit of his ancestors or the ancestral god, is confined to his house (except) [4] on special occasions—chiefly, no doubt, so that the sanctity in which he lives should not be violated—and the prosperity of the countryside and the fertility of crops, animals and men are

[1] H. R. Palmer, "Notes on the Korôrofawa and Jukoñ", *Journal of the African Society*, No. 44, vol. xi. July 1912, pp. 407-409.

[2] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii. 39 *sq.*

[3] That is, fetishes.—J. G. F.

[4] The omission of "except" in the text seems to be a mistake, which I have corrected. See below.—J. G. F.

thought to be linked with his well-being and his performance of the proper magical and other rites. The power of bringing rain is often attributed to these chiefs." [1]

One of these priestly kings or kingly priests resides at Elele, an important market-town of the Ibo people, to the north of Degema Division. This priestly king, who is named Eleche, is the head of the worship of the yams, which furnish the people with one of their staple foods. The fetish associated with the worship is called Aya-Eke. It is kept in a compound called Omo Kpurukpu, "and there, from election until death —at most seven years later, even should the full term of office be completed—the priest dwells, carefully guarded by all his people and never crossing the threshold unless called forth by some grave emergency. The reason for this restriction is that up to a few years ago any man who succeeded in killing the holder of this office would reign in his stead.

"The whole prosperity of the town, especially the fruitfulness of farm, byre, and marriage-bed, was linked with his life. Should he fall sick, it entailed famine and grave disaster upon the inhabitants, and there is reason to believe that, in such a case, facilities were offered to a successor. Under no circumstances did the term of office last for more than seven full years. This prohibition still holds; but since the coming of Government it is said that another of the same family, who must always be a strong man, may be chosen to take up the position in his stead. No sooner is a successor appointed, however, than the former priest is reported to 'die for himself'. It was frankly owned that, before Government came—*i.e.* some dozen years ago—things were arranged differently in that, at any time during his seven years' term, the priest might be put to death by one strong and resourceful enough to overcome him.

"In answer to the question as to whether, in view of the fate known to follow after so short a period, it was not difficult to find men willing to succeed to the office on such terms, Mr. Braid [2] answered in a somewhat surprised tone: 'Oh,

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), iii. 563 *sq.*

[2] Mr. D. Braid, who gave Mr. Talbot this information concerning the priesthood, was for several years Native Court clerk of Elele, the town in which the priest resided.

no! Many wish for the post, because so much wealth is brought them at the annual festival that they become very rich—past all others in the town.'

"Our informant also stated that, during his own term of office, Chief Eleche[1] has only once been known to pass beyond the compound walls. The occasion was as follows: A fellow townsman accused him of making a Juju[2] to kill the complainant. The case came into court and, all unconscious of the excitement which such a proceeding must cause, the chief was bidden to attend and answer the charge. He arrived, accompanied by nearly all the townsfolk, who not only filled the courtyard, which is a very large enclosed space, but thronged the market-place outside. They came, in a state of great anxiety, to watch over the sacred priest and guard him, so far as in them lay, from any misfortune the effects of which, it was believed, would at once react on all the countryside.

"Doubtless Mr. Braid would have been less ready to impart information of this nature, had it not been that he was about to leave the place, in all probability never to return, and had therefore nothing to fear from the townspeople."[3]

Mr. Talbot visited Elele and questioned the priest himself in his house, which is formed of elaborately carved wooden panels, being apparently the only house of the kind in the whole Division. The priest told him: "No priest of Aya-Eke may eat of the new season's yams. All the harvest must be garnered and the festival held. Then, though others may eat, I may not until all the new farms have been cut and planted. Only when the last of the seed yams has been laid in the ground do the people bring me those which yet remain over in the yam racks. These I eat, calling the first of them 'my new season's yam' though, in reality, it was garnered at the last harvest about seven moons before. . . . It is a very strong law of the Juju[4] that no yams, save such as are

[1] That is, the priestly king in question, whose name was Eleche.

[2] That is, a fetish.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* (Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 103-105. Compare P. Amaury Talbot, "Some Beliefs of to-day and yesterday (Niger-delta tribes)", *Journal of the African Society*, No. 60, vol. xv. July 1916, pp. 309 *sq.*; *id.*, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. 600.

[4] That is, the fetish.

old enough to plant, may be eaten by a priest of Aya-Eke. None has ever broken this rule ; for, should it be disobeyed, the seed yams would die in the ground, bearing no increase. All the great men of our family have kept the law faithfully." [1]

One of Mr. Talbot's party inquired of Eleche, the priest, whether he himself had power to appoint a successor, or in what way one was chosen. "No sooner was the word 'successor' uttered than Eleche raised his arms over his head twice as though to ward off threatened danger, while his head wife, who kept close to him throughout, shrugged her shoulders violently over and over again, repeating in an agitated voice : 'Mba ! Mba ! Che ! Che !' (Let it not be ! Let it not be !) Meanwhile the crowd of retainers took up the cry, low but angry, like the rumble of distant thunder, waving hands outward as if to drive off the ill-effects of such ominous speech. Eleche answered excitedly, the words tumbling over one another in his agitation : 'No successor is needed ; for I shall never die ! It is forbidden even to mention such a word ! In the beginning of things, when I came out of the world, it was arranged that I should not be as other men but should live very long—looking after my people and bringing them prosperity. The fate of common men is not for me !' Thereupon, like a Greek chorus, came the response of the crowd : 'Oda ! Oda !' (Forbid it ! Forbid it !)" [2]

The most important ceremonies in the worship of the yam are observed at the time of the yam harvest, when a great sacrifice is made, and every man, woman, and child in Elele brings a gift to the house of the priest. Early in May also, at the beginning of the rainy season, all the inhabitants gather to witness a wrestling match, which is held in the open space before the priest's house. The wrestling match is repeated every eighth day for about three months until the harvest festival of the new yams, during which the feast of the ancestral spirits is also celebrated.[3] I have already had occasion to mention these wrestling matches as examples

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, pp. 108 *sq.*
[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 109.
[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 110.

of agricultural rites performed to promote the growth of the crops.[1]

Further, Mr. Talbot tells us that "among the Eket a faint tradition yet lingers of 'a priest who slew the slayer and must himself be slain'. This came to our knowledge through the following story, told, with slight variations, by two well-known Ibibio:

"'In the olden time, far away from here, there dwelt a people called Ikot Ako Anyan. The last name was given them because they worshipped the great Juju[2] Anyan. Every year, at the time when the yam vines first clothe their poles with green, the people of Ikot Ako used to come down into the Ibibio country, and ask that an old chief might be delivered over to them, to become priest of their Juju[2] until the same season came round again. When this request had been granted, they went away, leaving a blessing upon the farms. . . . Of all the Ibibio chiefs led away to be priests, none ever came back, for each died within the year, and another was chosen in his stead. Some say the Juju[2] killed them; but others state that each year the new priest slew his predecessor, knowing full well that in twelve more moons he must himself be slain.'"[3]

Among the Banyankole, a pastoral people of the Uganda Protectorate, the king is known by the title of Mugabe. "No Mugabe ever allowed himself to grow old: he had to put an end to his life before his powers, either mental or physical, began to deteriorate. It was even thought undesirable that the Mugabe should look old, and treatment was applied to prevent his hair from growing grey. A bird, *kinyankwanzi*, was caught and killed, the body being dried and burnt to ashes, which were mixed with butter. This mixture was prepared by the medicine-man, who pronounced some magic incantations over it, and, when the night was darkest before the new moon appeared, the Mugabe smeared his head with it. The bird, *kinyankwanzi*, was sacred, and if any unauthorised person killed one, he was deprived of all his possessions. . . . No Mugabe ever went on living

[1] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 189, above, pp. 55 *sq.*

[2] That is, fetish.—J. G. F.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), pp. 336-337.

when he felt that his powers were failing him through either serious illness or old age. As soon as he felt his strength diminishing he knew it was time to end his life, and he called his chiefs and also his sons, who never came to see him except on this occasion. . . . When all was ready, he summoned the royal medicine-man and asked for the king's poison. This was always kept in readiness in the shell of a crocodile's egg. The white of the egg was dried and powdered and mixed with the dried nerve from the pointed end of an elephant's tusk and some other ingredients, the exact mixture being kept strictly secret. This had only to be mixed with a little water or beer to be ready for use, and when the Mugabe drank it he fell dead in a few moments."[1]

Another African people who are, or were till lately, governed by a priestly king of this type are the Konde, a Bantu tribe inhabiting the country round the northern end of Lake Nyasa. The title of the king is Chungu. "The Chungu of to-day is but a poor shadow of his great ancestors. European power had deprived him of many of his prerogatives, and stripped his person and his office of much that was picturesque, and might well have been preserved. But even in the heyday of their glory, the Chungus were but priest-kings, hampered in their divinity, hedged in their kingship by advisers, limitations, customs, which could not be set aside. . . . Chungu himself, however, was, and still is, 'the man who speaks with God'; and as such he is hedged with a real divinity, which the limitations to which he has to submit, and the independence of the once-subordinate chiefs, have not yet destroyed. He remains pre-eminently the man of prayer, who carries to the ancestral spirits the petitions of the community, and speaks to them with an authority which no other possesses. . . . The principal duties of the councillors were to put the reigning Chungu to death when he became seriously ill, a duty which has necessarily lapsed under British rule. . . .

"The health of the priest-king and the welfare of the whole community were inseparably bound up together. A Chungu in health and vigour meant a land yielding its fruits, rain coming in its season, evil averted. But a weak and

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 50-51.

ailing Chungu meant disasters of many kinds. Smaller illnesses Chungu, very excusably, concealed from his councillors, hoping that his ancestors would hear the prayers which he offered secretly by night. But when serious illness overtook him, the councillors were called to a full meeting by those who were about the person of the chief. For Chungu must not die a natural death; the land would be turned into water should such a calamity be allowed to happen. Having decided that the illness is really grave, the councillors one by one give their voice in the formula, '*Siku na mwaka*', literally, day and year; but actually meaning, 'Does God die?' In solemn procession these terrible persons enter the house and, having turned out the chief's wives, lay him down on the floor. Two keep him in that posture, while a third stops his breath by holding his mouth and nostrils, a fourth meanwhile gently slapping him all over the body until the life has gone out of him.

"No announcement of the death was made. One of the councillors lived in the royal dwelling, so that if any came to consult Chungu a response might be given, and as he was rarely seen by common men, it was easy to keep up the deception. The councillors with their own hands digged the grave, and on their shoulders, at midnight, carried the body, anointed with lion fat and enswathed in cloth, to the place of burial. Six or eight slaves, who did not return, went with them. Four went down into the grave to receive the body of their dead master, two at the head and two at the feet, and, in sitting position, held him in their arms. The remaining slaves, being placed on the top, the soil was filled in on living and dead." After the lapse of about a month the news of the king's death was conveyed to the people by the beat of a big iron drum.[1]

The successor of the dead Chungu is chosen by the councillors, with the help of divination, from certain families. But there are no candidates for the office; "for not only must Chungu himself be helped out of the world, but all his sons, born after his accession, are put to death at birth".[2]

Another African king who is never allowed to die a

[1] D. R. Mackenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), pp. 68-70.
[2] D. R. Mackenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde*, p. 71.

natural death is the Sultan of Uha in Tanganyika Territory. When he is at the point of death he is strangled or his neck is twisted by anybody who happens to be present. The custom may be a relic of an older practice of killing him on the first symptoms of weakness or senility. No sooner is he dead than pandemonium reigns in the village. Everybody flees, driving away all beasts and snatching up any article they can lay hands on. The Bilu, who are said to be the children of certain slave women, alone remain and take charge of the body, and they seize all the cattle and other property left behind by the fugitives in their haste. The corpse may not be buried in the bare earth. A white cow is killed and the hide removed entire, the horns being detached from it. The body is placed in the hide, the head resting on the skin of the cow's head and the arms and legs resting on the skin of the cow's legs. The hide is then sewn up and dried over fires which are fed (*sic*) with milk. When it is dry, the body is deposited in a canoe-shaped wooden trough and carried to the burial-place of the sultans, where it is set on trestles, and a hut is built over it.[1]

Once more, among the Sakalava of North-western Madagascar, when a king of the Volamena dynasty is on the point of death, it is customary to cut his throat with a knife reserved specially for this operation, thus hastening his death by at least some minutes.[2] The custom apparently originates in the common unwillingness to allow the king to die of weakness or old age, and that reluctance in its turn rests on the belief that the enfeeblement of the king's physical powers necessarily entails a corresponding decline in the state of his people and of the whole country. Thus the practice of cutting the throat of a Sakalava king when he is at the point of death is probably a relic of an older

[1] Capt. C. H. B. Grant, "Uha in Tanganyika Territory", *The Geographical Journal*, lxvi. (1925) p. 419.

[2] G. Grandidier, "La Mort et les Funérailles à Madagascar", *L'Anthropologie*, xxiii. (1912) p. 325. In the powerful mediaeval kingdom of the Khazars or Khozars of South-eastern Russia the kings were not allowed to reign and live beyond a certain period, which is variously stated by the Arab travellers and geographers, who are our principal authorities on the kingdom. Elsewhere I have collected the evidence on the subject. See J. G. Frazer, "The Killing of the Khazar Kings", *Folk-lore*, xxviii. (1917) pp. 382-407. Compare G. Róheim, "Killing the Divine King", *Man*, xv. (1915) pp. 26-28.

custom of killing him at the first symptom of bodily or mental decay.

From these and similar cases cited in my earlier work we may infer that the institution of a priestly kingship with a tenure not unlike that of Nemi was widespread in Africa down to recent years ; and in every instance, where the reason of the custom is reported, the motive for killing the king was apparently a belief that the welfare of the people, and particularly the fertility of the land, of cattle, and of women, were so intimately bound up with his health and strength that any impairment or failure of his bodily vigour through sickness or age would infallibly draw down calamity or even ruin on the country and its inhabitants, while his death from either of these causes would be fraught with incalculable evils for the community. In these circumstances his subjects had seemingly no choice but either to put him to death before the dreaded decay had sapped his energies, or to allow him to be attacked by a candidate for the kingship, who, by slaying him, demonstrated at once the incapacity of the deceased and his own fitness to discharge the onerous duties of the office. On this analogy we may suppose that the priest of Diana at Nemi, who bore the title of King of the Grove, was credited of old with possessing the same quickening powers over the fecundity of wild beasts, cattle, and women which seem to have been ascribed to the goddess herself, and that consequently any failure of his bodily strength was supposed to entail barrenness alike on man and beast, probably also on the fields, the orchards, and the vineyards. To avert these disastrous consequences it may have been at first customary to put him to death at the end of a period short enough to ensure that the fatal decline had not yet set in ; and in course of time this rigid limitation of his reign and life may have been so far relaxed that he was suffered to retain office so long as he could make good his title by defending himself against attack. It was under a tenure of this last sort that the priesthood of Diana at Nemi was held in historical times ; and though the custom in this mitigated form afforded the priest a chance of prolonging his life indefinitely, we need not wonder that candidates for the priesthood were few, and that they had to be recruited exclusively from the ranks of runaway

slaves.[1] This explanation of the rule of the priesthood of Nemi is necessarily no more than an hypothesis, but in the light of the parallels which I have adduced the hypothesis appears legitimate, if not probable.

III. 275. **Egeria it is who doth supply the water, goddess dear to the Camenae.**—The Camenae were water-nymphs whose holy spring flowed in a sacred grove outside the Capene Gate (*Porta Capena*) at Rome ; there Numa was said to have consorted with his divine spouse Egeria, who in the grove held converse with her divine sisters of the water, the Camenae.[2] The water of the spring was deemed more than usually sweet and health-giving ;[3] it was there that the Vestal Virgins of old were bound to fill their pitchers for the daily offices of religion.[4] In later times the Camenae were identified with the Muses, their name being thought to be derived from *carmen*, " a song ".[5] Thus the old poet Livius Andronicus, in translating the first line of the Odyssey, rendered " Muse " by " Camena ".[6] There was a temple of the Camenae in which the poet Naevius had a statue of himself set up ; the bard himself was a very little man, but his statue was very big.[7] Roman poets appear to have adopted the excellent practice of composing laudatory epitaphs to be inscribed on their tombs ; in this way they ensured that justice, or even more than justice, should be done to their memory by a grateful posterity. Three of these sincere eulogies are preserved by Aulus Gellius. That of Naevius runs as follows :

> " *If it were lawful for immortals to weep for mortals,*
> *The divine Camenae would weep for the poet Naevius.*
> *So when he was handed over to Pluto's stronghold,*
> *People at Rome forgot to speak the Latin tongue.*"

On this epitaph Aulus Gellius observes that it would have been a very proper certificate of merit if it had been delivered

[1] Herodotus (ii. 113) mentions a sanctuary of Hercules in Egypt in which runaway slaves were safe, provided that they submitted to be branded in token of their addiction to the god.

[2] Livy, i. 21. 3 ; Juvenal, iii. 11-20.

[3] Vitruvius, viii. 3. 1 ; Frontinus, *De aquis*, i. 4.

[4] Plutarch, *Numa*, 13. 2.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Camenae ", p. 38 ed. Lindsay ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 26.

[6] Aulus Gellius, xviii. 9. 5.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 19.

to the poet by anybody but himself.[1] In addressing the nymph of a certain spring, whose water ran under Stella's house, Martial hesitates to say whether she was the ninth of the Camenae or was sent from Dian's caves by Numa's spouse.[2] Here the poet combines the notion of a water-nymph with that of the nine Muses.

III. 278. **Numa resolved to soften their fierce temper by force of law and fear of gods.**—So Plutarch observes that the pacific Numa, on coming to the throne in succession to the warlike Romulus, resolved to soften the hard and militant temper of the people, as iron is rendered malleable in the furnace, and to mould it into a more righteous form.[3] Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the two great aims of Numa's policy were to train up the nation in piety and justice.[4] And Livy, in a passage which Ovid may have had in his mind or before his eyes, remarks that Numa, on attaining the kingship, set himself to establish afresh by law and justice the city which had been founded by force of arms.[5]

III. 285. **Lo, through the clouds the father of the gods scatters red lightnings.**—The following quaint story of the way in which Numa learned how to expiate the descent of a thunderbolt is similarly told by Plutarch and Arnobius.[6] The latter writer tells us that he quoted the story from the early Roman historian Valerius Antias, who was probably Ovid's authority also.

III. 289. **To the king the goddess spake.**—The goddess is Egeria, the divine wife of Numa. Arnobius says that by the advice of Egeria the king stationed twelve chaste young men in ambush, with manacles, beside the spring at which Faunus and Martius Picus were wont to slake their thirst; and that when the two rustic deities had drunk deep of the water mixed with wine, they fell sound asleep; whereupon the twelve young men stole upon them and bound them fast.[7] Midas, king of Phrygia, is said to have captured the woodland deity Silenus by a similar device and so compelled him to

[1] Aulus Gellius, i. 24.
[2] Martial, vi. 47. 1 *sqq.*
[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 8. 1.
[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 62. 5.
[5] Livy, i. 19. 1.
[6] Plutarch, *Numa*, 15; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 1.
[7] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 1.

reveal the high and recondite lore which he would only impart on compulsion.[1] The fountain at which Midas caught Silenus napping by mixing wine with the water was pointed out at Thymbrium in Phrygia by the wayside.[2] The Latin legend was probably modelled on the Greek.

III. 300. **King Numa came and sacrificed a sheep to the spring.**—Horace promised to sacrifice a kid to the Bandusian spring.[3] Martial speaks of a sow sacrificed to a spring by a certain Marcus who had drunk in sickness of its water.[4] At the spring called Cyane or the Blue Spring the Syracusans annually celebrated a great festival, at which bulls were drowned in the deep water on behalf of the city, while private persons sacrificed less costly victims to the water goddess. The festival was said to have been instituted by Hercules at the time when he drove the kine of Geryon through Sicily.[5] The source of the Cyane is a circular basin where the pellucid blue water wells up with great force, forming at once a considerable river, which flows with a deep and tranquil current for about a mile and a half to join the Anopus.[6]

III. 322. **Witness my promise, cloudy Styx.**—The oath by the waterfall of the Styx was accounted the most solemn oath that the gods could take.[7] The water falls or trickles, according to the season, over an immense perpendicular cliff in scenery of sublime and desolate grandeur near Nonacris in northern Arcadia.[8] The water was popularly supposed to be deadly to man and beast, but this is an error ; chemical analysis has shown that the water contains no substances in solution.[9] Probably an oath by the water of the Styx was in

[1] Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apollon.* 27 ; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 18 ; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vi. 27 ; Pausanias, i. 4. 5 ; Himerius, *Ecl.* xvi. 5 ; Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 48. 114 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 13.

[2] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 13.

[3] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 13. 1 *sq.*

[4] Martial, vi. 47. 1-6.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 23. 4, v. 4. 2.

[6] E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 721 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Cyane".

[7] Homer, *Iliad*, xv. 37 *sq.*, *Od.* v. 185 *sq.* ; *Homeric Hymns*, III. *To Apollo*, 85 *sq.* ; *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 518 *sq.* ; Hesiod, *Theog.* 775-789 ; Apollodorus, i. 2. 5 ; Hesychius, *s.v.* Στυγὸς ὕδωρ and Στύξ.

[8] Pausanias, viii. 18. 4, with my commentary (vol. iv. pp. 250 *sqq.*).

[9] Herodotus, vi. 74 ; Pausanias, viii. 18. 4-6, with my commentary (vol. iv. pp. 253 *sqq.*) ; Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 158 (174) ; Strabo, viii. 8. 4, p. 389 ; Seneca, *Natur. Quaest.* iii. 25. 1 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 231, xxxi. 26 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 77. 2 ; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 40.

use among men long before they attributed it to the gods; for the life of the gods is only a glorified reflection on the clouds of the life of man on earth. But the only historical occasion on which we hear of a human oath by the Styx was when Cleomenes, the banished king of Sparta, tried to band the Arcadians together against his native land, and in order to ensure their fidelity sought to persuade the leading men to go with him to Nonacris and swear by the water of the Styx.[1] We may suppose that the oath was accompanied by a draught of the water, and as the water was deemed a deadly poison, the oath by it must in that case have been regarded as a poison ordeal.[2] Near Tyana in Cappadocia there was a bubbling spring of cold water called the Asbamaean spring. The water of the spring was thought to be sweet and kindly to those who swore truly by it, but on such as forswore themselves the water inflicted disease of the eyes and hands and feet, combined with dropsy and wasting sickness, so that the sinners had not even strength to stir from the spot, but lingering at the spring they confessed their sin and lamented their fate. The Greeks thought that the water was sacred to Zeus the God of Oaths (*Zeus Horkios*);[3] but probably it was a Semitic sanctuary, for the name seems to mean "the Seven Waters" (Syriac *shab'ā mayā*).[4]

III. 327. **They drew (eliciunt) thee from the sky, O Jupiter . . . by the name of Elicius.**—Jupiter Elicius had an altar on the Aventine which is said to have been founded by Numa.[5] Pliny mentions the god under this title in a context which seems to show that, like Ovid, he derived the adjective Elicius from *elicere*, in the sense of drawing lightning from the clouds.[6] He tells us further that in the Roman annals it was reported how, by the performance of certain rites and the utterance of certain prayers, thunderbolts might be drawn down from the sky. According to an ancient tradition,

[1] Herodotus, vi. 74.

[2] Compare my note on Pausanias, viii. 18. 4 (vol. iv. pp. 253-255); G. Glotz, *L'Ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* (Paris, 1904), pp. 114 *sqq.*

[3] Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* i. 6; [Aristotle] *Mirab. Auscult.* 152 (163).

[4] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] (London, 1927), p. 182.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 95; Livy, i. 20. 7. Compare A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité* (Paris. 1906), p. 110.

[6] Pliny, *Nat Hist.* ii. 140.

the Etruscan king Porsenna exercised this power, and by means of it destroyed a monster called Volta, who was devastating the lands of Volsinii; and the historian L. Piso, in the first book of his Annals, related that Numa had often practised the same art, and that his successor on the throne, Tullus Hostilius, endeavoured to imitate him, but, though he studied the books of Numa for the purpose, he committed so serious an error in the rites or in the accompanying spells, that he was himself blasted and his house burned by a stroke of lightning, which was naturally interpreted as a token of the wrath of Jupiter Elicius at his impious presumption.[1] However, the adjective Elicius perhaps refers rather to the rain than to the lightning that was to be elicited from the clouds.

III. 333. **" King and father of the high gods," he said, " vouchsafe expiations sure for thunderbolts."**—In the following passage Ovid explains that the three things prescribed by Jupiter for the expiation of a thunderbolt were an onion, human hair, and a fish. The poet does not specify the kind of fish that was used in the ceremony, but from the parallel passages of Plutarch and Arnobius we learn that it was a small species called *maena* (Greek *mainis*), perhaps a sprat.[2] The reason for employing these things for such a purpose is as obscure to us as it apparently was to the ancients. Despite the words put in the mouth of Jupiter we need not suppose that the onion was a substitute for a human sacrifice which had formerly been offered to expiate the portent. Whatever the origin or meaning of the rite may have been, Plutarch tells us that down to his own time the expiation for the fall of a thunderbolt was still performed with onions, hair, and sprats.[3]

III. 345. **But when to-morrow's sun shall have put forth his full orb.**—Ovid here calls the sun Cynthius, because he identifies the sun with Apollo, who was said to have been born in Delos, of which Cythnus is a mountain, or rather a hill.[4] For the same reason Apollo's twin sister Diana (Artemis) was

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 140, xxviii. 14; Livy, i. 31. 8. Compare K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 176 *sq.*

[2] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 1; Plutarch, *Numa*, 15. 4-5.

[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 15. 4.

[4] Strabo, x. 5. 2, p. 485.

called Cynthia,[1] and as Apollo and Diana were often identified with the sun and moon respectively, the names Cynthius and Cynthia might be used to designate the two great luminaries.

III. 346. **I will give thee sure pledges of empire.**—The pledge was to be the sacred shield (*ancile*) that was to fall from heaven next day. So, according to Servius, when the shield fell down in the reign of Numa, an oracular response declared that the seat of empire would be wherever that shield should be.[2]

III. 377. **he called the shield ancile because it was cut away (recisum) on all sides.**—Similarly Varro and Festus describe the *ancile* or sacred shield of the Salii as an oval with an indentation on each side; Varro compares it to the Thracian shield.[3] Their descriptions are confirmed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch. Dionysius, like Varro, compares the shield to the Thracian buckler, and he says that it resembled the shields carried by the Greek Curetes.[4] Shields of this pattern are represented on coins of P. Licinius Stolo (17 B.C.), with the pointed cap (*apex*), which the Salii wore, between them.[5] But on the relief from Anagnia, which portrays two Salii marching with their pointed caps on their heads, their batons in their right hands, and their shields on their left arms, the shields are round, without any indentations.[6]

III. 393. **If damsel thou wouldst wed, put off the wedding. . . . Weapons excite to battle.**—In this last phrase ("*arma movent pugnas*") Ovid has clearly in mind the dances of the armed Salii, for which the technical expression was "to move the shields" ("*movere ancilia*").[7] The expression occurs in the calendar of Philocalus under the ninth of March,[8] but this

[1] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 91, Vol. II. p. 307.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 188.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 43, "*Ancilia dicta ab ambecisu, quod ea arma ab utraque parte ut Thracum incisa*"; Festus, *s.v.* "Mamuri Veturi", p. 117 ed. Lindsay, "*Ancile, id est scutum breve, quod ideo sic est appellatum, quia ex utroque latere erat recisum, ut summum infimumque eius latius medio pateret*".

[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 70. 3; Plutarch, *Numa*, 13. 5.

[5] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 138.

[6] Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 194, fig. 49.

[7] Livy, xxxvii. 33. 6.

[8] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 260, 311, "*Arma ancilia movent*".

cannot be the day to which Ovid refers in the present line, since he does not come to speak of the third of the month till several lines further on (line 399). Clearly he is still speaking of the first of March, on which apparently the first *ancile* or sacred shield of the Salii was believed to have fallen from heaven. Certainly the dances of the Salii with their shields began on the first of March.[1] From the present passage of Ovid we gather that marriage was forbidden, or at all events discountenanced as unlucky, on a day on which the Salii danced. But we know that they danced for many days in March ;[2] according to Polybius, their festival, and therefore, we may assume, their dances, went on for thirty days,[3] by which the historian probably meant the whole month of March. Are we then to suppose that marriages were discountenanced during the whole of March, as they certainly were during the whole of May ? It seems to have been so, for the scholiast Porphyrion on Horace expressly says that there was a religious scruple about marrying in March as well as in May.[4] But three days in March were specially marked in the calendars as days on which the Salii danced or, in technical language, moved their shields ; these were the first, the ninth, and the twenty-third of the month.[5] Accordingly we may suppose that on these three days of March it was reckoned particularly unlucky to wed. On the same days on which the Salii danced, as we learn from Ovid (lines 397-398), the wife of the Flamen Dialis was bound to abstain from combing her hair. Similarly the first half of June, from the first to the fifteenth, was deemed unlucky for marriage, and on these days the wife of the Flamen Dialis might not comb her hair or cut her nails.[6]

III. 399. **When the third night of the month has shifted her starry fires, one of the two Fishes will have disappeared.**— The constellation of the Fish is divided into two, which are

[1] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 42, p. 98 ed. Wuensch.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 70. 2.

[3] Polybius, xxi. 13. (10) 12.

[4] Porphyrion, on Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 209, p. 343 ed. Meyer, "*Ob quam rem Maio mense religio est nubere, et item Martio*". As to the scruple about marrying in May see Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 490, with the note (Vol. IV. pp. 52 *sqq.*).

[5] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 42 and 60, pp. 42, 113 ed. Wuensch (as to March 1 and 23) ; *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 260, 311 (as to March 9).

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 221-230.

called, as Ovid here says, the Northern and the Southern Fish respectively.[1] The poet has already related the mythical origin of the constellation.[2] According to Pliny, the Northern Fish (*Piscis Aquilonius*) rises on the ninth of March ;[3] according to Columella, the Northern Fish ceases to rise on the thirteenth of March.[4] Thus both Pliny and Columella speak of the rising of the constellation at this time of the year, whereas Ovid speaks of its setting. Whether he did so purposely or by mistake we cannot tell. The evening setting would fit better than the morning rising with the date assigned by him ; for the star ϕ in the middle of the constellation set at evening on the seventh of March, but did not rise at evening till the first of April.[5]

III. 403. **When from her saffron cheeks Tithonus' spouse shall have begun to shed the dew at the time of the fifth morn.** —The goddess of the dawn, Aurora, spouse of Tithonus, was thought to weep for her son Memnon, slain by Achilles before Troy, and her tears fell in the form of dewdrops upon earth.[6]

III. 405. **the constellation, whether it be the Bear-ward or the sluggard Bootes, will have sunk and will escape thy sight.** —Homer speaks of Bootes as " late-setting ", and Ovid elsewhere and Catullus call him " slow " (*tardus*).[7] " The constellation has alternate names corresponding to that of the Great Bear ; if that is a Bear, then he is the Bear-leader ; if it is thought of as the Wain, then he is the driver, Bootes " (Cyril Bailey).

III. 407. **But not so will the Grape-gatherer escape thee.** —The Greeks called this constellation Trygeter (Τρυγητήρ), " Grape-gatherer ", because in autumn it rose about the time of the vintage, which in Greece falls in September. At the latitude of Rome the apparent rising of the constellation took place in Ovid's time on the eighteenth of September. Columella dated its true morning rising on the twenty-

[1] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 239-247, 387 *sq.* ; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 21 ; Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 41, iii. 29, 40.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 457 *sqq.*

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 237.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 24.

[5] Ideler, " Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid ", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 161.

[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 576-622 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 489.

[7] Homer, *Od.* v. 272 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 177 ; Catullus, lxvi. 67.

seventh of August ; [1] in Caesar's calendar the rising of the constellation, which heralded the time of the vintage, was dated on the twenty-second of August.[2] In the present passage Ovid clearly cannot refer either to the true or to the apparent rising of the Grape-gatherer (*Vindemitor*) in autumn. But according to Columella, the constellation rose at evening on the second of March,[3] which nearly agrees with the statement of Ovid on the supposition that the poet referred to the rising of the constellation at evening. However, it seems that both writers were, as often, inaccurate ; for the apparent rising fell on the fourteenth of February and the true rising on the twenty-sixth of that month.[4]

III. 409. **the beardless Ampelus . . . was loved by Bacchus on the Ismarian hills.**—The myth is threadbare, for the name Ampelus is simply the Greek word for "vine". So the rhetorician Himerius says that when Bacchus, wounded by his foes the Titans, lay a-dying, the Vine (*ampelos*) was sad, Wine was in doleful dumps, and the Grape-cluster wept.[5] A fine statue in the British Museum represents the lad Ampelus in the act of being transformed into a vine ; his lower limbs have already undergone the change and are mantled in vine-leaves and clusters, but his upper part is still human and he is proffering a bunch of grapes to Bacchus, who is looking down at him with his hand resting lovingly on the boy's shoulder. The statue was found between Rome and Florence.[6] Ismarus or Ismara was a Thracian mountain or district which, according to Virgil, Bacchus loved to plant with vines.[7] Ulysses received from Maro, priest of Apollo, a skin of sweet wine which came from the vines of Ismarus.[8] The sweet wines of Thrace were famous.[9]

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 58.
[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 309.
[3] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 24.
[4] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 157.
[5] Himerius, *Orat.* ix. 4.
[6] W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 292, *s.v.* "Ampelos".
[7] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 37 *sq.*, with the note of Servius, who calls Ismarus a mountain of Thrace. Both forms, Ismarus and Ismara, are recognized by Strabo (vii. p. 331, frag. 44), who calls the place a city of the Cicones.
[8] Homer, *Od.* ix. 196-198.
[9] Athenaeus, i. 56, p. 31 a.

III. 419. **To Caesar's countless titles . . . was added the honour of the pontificate.**—Augustus accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus on the sixth of March in the year 12 B.C., as we know from a note under March 6 in the Praenestine calendar, which adds that the people wore wreaths and kept holiday in honour of the occasion.[1] The event is also recorded under March 6 in the Maffeian and Cuman calendars ; in the Cuman calendar it is noted that supplications were offered to Vesta and the Public Penates of the Roman People on the happy day.[2] In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* Augustus has himself recorded that he accepted the great priesthood after refusing to take it in the lifetime of his colleague (Lepidus), though it was offered to him by the people and had been held by his (adoptive) father Julius Caesar. He informs us that the concourse of people at Rome on the occasion was such as had never been seen before.[3] The Emperor's statement as to his former refusal of the pontificate in the lifetime of Lepidus is confirmed by Suetonius [4] and Appian, who say that the people offered to transfer the priesthood from Lepidus to Augustus, but that the Emperor rejected the offer and would not allow Lepidus to be put to death as a public enemy.[5] Dio Cassius dates the Emperor's acceptance of the office in 13 B.C. ; [6] but this is doubtless an error. As Pontifex Maximus Augustus ought to have taken up his official residence in the Regia or King's House in the Forum, but he preferred to assign it to the Vestal Virgins, whose convent it adjoined, while he set apart some rooms in his palace on the Palatine to serve as his priestly quarters.[7] From Ovid's allusions here and elsewhere we gather that the priestly and imperial residence on the Palatine included a chapel of Vesta with a sacred Vestal fire.[8] The inference is put beyond a doubt by a note in the Praenestine calendar which records that on the twenty-eighth day of April in the consulship of Quirinius and Valgius (12 B.C.), that is, in the same year in which Augustus accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus, a chapel and altar of Vesta were dedicated in his

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 233, 311.
[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 223, 229, 311.
[3] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii. 23-28, pp. 64 *sq.* ed. Hardy, p. 14 ed. Diehl.
[4] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 1.
[5] Appian *Bell. Civ.* v. 13. 131.
[6] Dio Cassius, liv. 27. 2.
[7] Dio Cassius, liv. 27. 3.
[8] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 949-954, *Metamorph.* xv. 864 *sq.*

house ;[1] and this in turn is confirmed by a note in the Caeretan calendar, which, under April 28, mentions that the day was a holiday because on it an image of Vesta had been set up in the pontiff's house.[2] Thus in the possession of an image of Vesta the Imperial Chapel on the Palatine enjoyed an advantage over the ancient temple of Vesta in the Forum, which never contained an image of the goddess.[3] The whole of the present passage of Ovid proves how intimate was the relation between the Pontifex Maximus and the worship of Vesta ; indeed, elsewhere the poet does not hesitate to call the Pontifex Maximus the priest of Vesta.[4] It was therefore natural that, as we have just seen, the election of Augustus to the office of Pontifex Maximus should be accompanied or followed by solemn prayers to Vesta.

III. 425. **a priest of the line of Aeneas handles your kindred divinities.**—As Paley dryly observes, the relationship of Augustus to Vesta was not very close, but the flattery of Augustan poets did not stick at trifles. After all, Augustus was only an adoptive son of Julius Caesar, who was descended from Aeneas, who was a son of Venus, who was a daughter of Jupiter, who was a son of Saturn, who was own brother of Vesta.

III. 429. **they think that on that day the temple of Vedjovis was consecrated in front of the two groves.**—An altar is said to have been dedicated to Vedjovis by the Sabine king Tatius.[5] The worship of Vedjovis " between the two groves " is mentioned in the Praenestine calendar under the seventh of March (the Nones), but the note in the calendar is mutilated and its restoration is uncertain.[6] From the same calendar we learn that Vedjovis was worshipped in the island of the Tiber on the first of January,[7] and from the

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 236, 317. The note is mutilated but can be restored with certainty.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 213, 317. Compare G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 112 *sq.* ; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 75 *sq.*

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 295 *sq.*

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 699, v. 573.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 74.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 233, 311. However, the words of the note " *Vediovis inter duos lucos* " are clear and certain.

[7] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 231, 305. Here again the words " *Vediovi in insula* " are clear and certain. As the notes in the Praenestine calendar are probably by Verrius Flaccus, we may conclude that the form *Vediovis* had the authority of

Venusian calendar we learn that he was also worshipped on the twenty-first of May.[1] The god is called Father Vedjovis in an inscription on an ancient altar dedicated to him by the Julian family at Bovillae.[2] The three entries of the god's name in the calendars probably refer to the dedications of temples to him, but some difficulty in identifying the temples is created by confusion or corruption in the text of Livy.[3] The temple of Vediovis in the island appears to have been vowed in a Gallic war by the praetor L. Furius Purpurio in 200 B.C. and dedicated by C. Servilius in 194 B.C.;[4] the temple "between the two groves" on the Capitol seems to have been dedicated by Q. Marcius Ralla in 192 B.C.[5] It is to this latter temple that Ovid refers in the present passage.

In the infancy of Rome, with a view to strengthening the new city by attracting settlers from the neighbouring peoples, Romulus is said to have established an asylum in which anybody, whether freeman or slave, murderer or debtor, might take refuge and find sanctuary. The place was the hollow or saddle between the Capitol and the citadel (*arx*), which was known as "between the two groves", no doubt because of old the two peaks of the Capitoline hill were crowned with woods.[6] In historical times the place was enclosed by walls, so that none could enter, and the asylum was an asylum only in name.[7] Tacitus refers to it as "the grove of the asylum".[8] The site must have been part of the ground now occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio and

that learned grammarian. As to the form of the name compare the notes of H. Jordan, in L. Preller's *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 262, 263.

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 221, 318. Here again the form of the name *Vediovi* is certain.

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 2988, "*Vediovei patrei genteiles Iuliei*".

[3] See Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 305; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, pp. 20, 21; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 635; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 237.

[4] Livy, xxxi. 21. 12 (where *Vediovi* is a correction of the MS. reading *deo Iovi*), xxxiv. 53. 7 (where "*in insula Iovis aedem*" is thought to be a mistake of Livy or his scribe for "*in insula Vediovis aedem*").

[5] Livy, xxxv. 41. 8 (where "*aedes duae Iovis in Capitolio*" is thought to be a mistake for "*aedes Vediovis in Capitolio*").

[6] Livy i. 8. 5 *sq.*; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 15. 4; Strabo, v. 3. 2, p. 230; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9. 3; Velleius Paterculus, i. 8. 5; Florus, i. 1. 9; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 2. 1; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 342 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 761.

[7] Livy, i. 8. 5; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 19. 3.

[8] Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 71.

the Capitoline Museums.[1] That there was a temple of Vedjovis between the citadel (*arx*) and the Capitol is affirmed by Aulus Gellius ;[2] it was the temple to which Ovid alludes in the present passage. Vitruvius refers to it as the temple of Vedjovis " between the two groves ", citing it as a temple of a special or peculiar type, but without mentioning in what the peculiarity consisted.[3] The statue in the temple was dedicated in 560 A.U.C., that is, in 194 B.C., which, as we have seen, appears to have been the year in which the temple itself was dedicated ; it was made of cypress wood, and Pliny noted, with apparent surprise, that it had lasted down to his own time, a period of about three hundred years.[4] In its hand the statue held arrows, and beside it was the image of a goat. On account of the arrows some people identified the god with Apollo. Aulus Gellius, who mentions these peculiarities of the statue, adds that a she-goat was sacrificed to him *humano ritu*, " in human fashion ",[5] a phrase of doubtful significance, which may mean that the animal was dressed in human attire to represent a human victim, as was sometimes done in Greek ritual ; for example, in Tenedos, a new-born calf was shod in buskins and sacrificed to Dionysus, while the mother cow was tended like a woman in childbed.[6] The image of the goat that stood beside the statue of Vedjovis is mentioned by Ovid a little later on (line 443).

III. 437. **He is the Young Jupiter ; look on his youthful face.**—Ovid interprets Vedjovis as the Young or Little Jupiter. His chief reason for doing so seems to be his explanation of the prefix *ve* as signifying little (lines 445-448), so that Ve-Djovis or Ve-Jovis would mean " the Little Jupiter ". The same

[1] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 117 *sq.* ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 130 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 305.

[2] Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 2.

[3] Vitruvius, iv. 8. 4.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 216. However, in this passage the reading *DLX* (560) is a correction of Merkel's (*De obscuris Ovidii Fastorum*, p. cxxviii) for the *DCLXI*, *DLXI*, and *DLI* of the MSS.

[5] Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 11-12.

[6] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 34. We hear also of a goat dressed as a girl, and sacrificed in her stead. See Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 732, p. 331 ; Apostolius, *Cent.* vii. 2 ; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, ii. 402 ; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἔμβαρος.

interpretation of the name was given by Festus. According to him, the syllable *ve* prefixed to a word is a diminutive, as in *vegrandis faba*, " a small bean " ; hence Vedjovis is " the Little Jupiter ".[1] On the other hand Aulus Gellius, discussing the meaning of the name Vedjovis, says that the prefix *ve* may signify either increase or diminution, but in Vedjovis he thinks that the prefix has a diminutive or negative sense, so that the name signifies " He who does not help ", in contrast to Jovis or Jupiter, which means " He who helps ", the root of both names being the verb *iuvare*, " to help ". On this view Vedjovis is a sort of negative Jupiter: people worshipped Jupiter in order that he might benefit them, but they worshipped Vedjovis in order that he might not injure them.[2]

But Ovid did not rest his interpretation of Vedjovis entirely on etymology. He explained the image of the goat beside the god's statue with reference to the tradition that in Crete the infant Jupiter (Zeus) had been suckled by a goat ; [3] and he tells us further that the features of the god were youthful, and that he carried no thunderbolts in his hand. But he says nothing of the arrows which the image was said to carry in his hand ; these were hardly appropriate to an infant god. The interpretation of Vedjovis as the Young Jupiter would be confirmed if numismatists are right in explaining as Vedjovis the heads of certain youthful gods on Roman coins. Thus on the obverse of coins issued by Manius Fonteius about 88 B.C. we see the laurelled head of a youthful, beardless god who might be mistaken for an Apollo, if it were not that the thunderbolt beneath his head seems to proclaim him Jupiter, and a youthful Jupiter. On the reverse of these coins is figured a winged child riding a goat, who has been interpreted as Vedjovis himself or his Genius.[4] Again, on the obverse of coins issued by L. Caesius

[1] Festus, *s.v.* " Vesculi ", p. 519 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 8-10.

[3] See Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 113 *sqq.*, with the note.

[4] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 505-508 ; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i. 200 *sq.*, with Münztafel, iii. 5-6 ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 712 *sq.*, with figs. 526, 527. Mr. Cook accepts the identification of the heads as those of Vedjovis, and favours the interpretation of Vedjovis as the youthful Jupiter, but he sees in the winged child on the goat merely a Cupid. But what has Cupid to do with Vedjovis and his goat ?

about 104 B.C. there is figured the head of a beardless Apollo-like god grasping a thunderbolt in his raised right hand. This also has been interpreted as a youthful Jupiter, a Vedjovis ; and it has been suggested that the thunderbolt might easily be mistaken for a bundle of arrows, which would increase the resemblance to Apollo and go far to explain why some people mistook the image of Vedjovis for Apollo.[1] But if Vedjovis had a thunderbolt in his hand, why does Ovid say that he had not ? At Circeii on the coast of Latium we hear of the worship of a youthful and beardless Jupiter ;[2] but whether he wielded a thunderbolt or not we do not know.

An alternative explanation of Vedjovis is adopted by Wissowa.[3] He sees in Vedjovis the opposite of Jupiter, a god therefore of the lower world, an Infernal Jupiter, the equivalent of Pluto ; indeed, Martianus Capella, or one of his copyists, expressly identified Vedjovis with Pluto,[4] and Vedjovis was named, along with Dis Pater (equivalent to Pluto) and the spirits of the dead, in the formula by which a Roman general devoted the army of the enemy to destruction.[5] To the same effect K O Müller[6] interpreted Vedjovis as an Evil Jupiter, an Etruscan god of wicked and dangerous character, who dazed the victims whom he was about to blast with his lightning, so that they could not even hear the crash of thunder ; of that dreadful Vedjovis you might read in the books of the Etruscan wizard Tages.[7] This is

[1] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 281 *sq.* ; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i. 200 *sq.*, with Münztafel iii. 4 ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 712, fig. 525. A similar head on coins of C. Licinius, issued about 82 B.C., has been similarly interpreted. See E. Babelon, *op. cit.* ii. 132 *sq.*

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 799 *sq.*, with the note of Servius.

[3] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 236-238.

[4] Martianus Capella, ii. 166, "*Pluton quem etiam Ditem Veiovemque dixere*". But *Pluton* is bracketed as a gloss by Eyssenhardt.

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 9. 10, "*Dis Pater, Veiovis, Manes, sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare*", etc. But Vedjovis is not mentioned by Livy in the formula which he puts in the mouth of the consul P. Decius Mus (viii. 9. 8, "*Legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique devoveo*").

[6] K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 59 *sq.*

[7] Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 10. 2, "*Timidus mortem fortasse metuens adventantem, ut in Tageticis libris legitur Veiovis fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari ut nec tonitrum nec maiores aliquos possint audire fragores*". As to Tages see Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 23. 50 ; Festus, *s.v.* "Tages", p. 492, ed. Lindsay ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 552-559.

perhaps the most probable explanation of the mysterious deity, who seems to have puzzled the Romans themselves; for in discussing the names of the Roman gods one of the interlocutors in Cicero's dialogues *On the Nature of the Gods* asks, "What will you make of Vedjovis?"[1] and to this question there is no answer. If we accept the view of the sinister character of Vedjovis, we can perhaps the better understand why he was specially chosen to preside over the Asylum on the Capitol; for we can scarcely doubt that in its origin that place was a den of thieves, bullies, and cut-throats, like Whitefriars in the London of James the First, and that it might be thought desirable to curb by superstitious terrors the ruffians who had no fear of the law. But if that was so, why was Vedjovis also worshipped in the island of the Tiber? The island does not seem to have been one of the disreputable quarters of the great city.

Among savage and barbarous peoples in many parts of the world sanctuaries are to be found where criminals of all sorts can take refuge and be safe from their pursuers. Among the Siah Posh Kafirs, for example, who inhabit the savage glens and highlands of the Hindu Kush, there are whole villages which enjoy the right of sanctuary and in consequence are peopled mainly by manslayers or their offspring.[2] To take a single instance of such institutions at a lower level of culture, we may cite the case of the Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia, of whom we read: "That there is a real deep-seated desire that justice should prevail in the land is shown by the fact that these hot-blooded impetuous savages, as ready to stab as to smoke, provided that certain places should be regarded as sanctuaries, on reaching which a criminal, even a warlock, was safe until brought to trial. Stories are still told of a criminal's wild race through hostile spears to one of these places; if only he could get there he was safe. Many used to fail and fall mortally wounded in the chase. These places varied in different districts, but were generally either the hut of the

[1] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 24. 62.

[2] Sir G. S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush* (London, 1896), pp. 440 *sq.*

chief, a temple over a grave, or a sacred grove." [1] In such a sacred grove have we not the embryo of an asylum like that " between the two groves " at Rome?

III. 439. **Jupiter assumed the thunderbolts after the giants dared attempt to win the sky.**—In this and the following lines Ovid is guilty of several mythological heresies. He has confounded the Giants with the Titans, and both of them with the Aloads. It was in the war with the Titans, not with the Giants, that Jupiter (Zeus) is said to have first armed himself with the thunderbolt for the destruction of his foes; and it was the Aloads, not the Giants, who attempted to storm heaven by piling Pelion on Ossa. The three attacks on the celestial gods are clearly distinguished by Apollodorus in his handbook of Greek mythology,[2] but they are often confounded by the poets.

III. 445. **Husbandmen call stunted spelt vegrandia, and what is little they call vesca.**—The ancients themselves were doubtful as to the meaning of these words. The adjective *vescus* is applied by Lucretius to salt,[3] and by Virgil to willow leaves and poppies.[4] Pliny speaks of a gladiator whose body was *vescum*, though his strength was great.[5] Festus, as we

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), i. 359. Elsewhere in Africa the graves of kings or chiefs are sanctuaries for all and sundry. See B. Gutmann, *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 19; Hon. Kenneth R. Dundas, " The Wawanga and other Tribes of the Elgon District, British East Africa ", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii. (1913) pp. 51 *sq.*; H. Meyer, *Die Barundi* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 186. In Morocco the shrine and precinct of a saint are sanctuaries, within which refugees may not be molested and from which they may not be torn. The precinct may extend far beyond the chapel built on the saint's grave. See E. Doutté, *En Tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 393; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), i. 64, 559 *sqq.* In Tahiti the ground about the temples (*morais*) was sacred and afforded to criminals a sanctuary from which they could not be removed by force. See James Wilson, *Missionary Voyage to the South Pacific Ocean* (London, 1799), p. 351. For many more examples of sanctuaries among primitive people see my *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 95 *sqq.*

[2] Apollodorus, i. 2. 1 (war with the Titans), i. 6. 1-2 (war with the Giants), i. 7. 4 (war with the Aloads). For details and references to authorities I may refer to the notes on these passages in my edition of Apollodorus.

[3] Lucretius, i. 326, " *Vesco sale saxa peresa* ", where Rouse translates it " corrosive ", in agreement with some ancient grammarians (Aulus Gellius, xvi. 5. 7). But this sense would hardly apply to willow leaves, poppies, and the body of a gladiator. See below.

[4] Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 175, iv. 131.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 81, " *Corpore vesco sed eximiis viribus Tritanum in gladiatorio ludo* ".

have seen, understood the prefix *ve* in a diminutive sense, and he explained the adjective *vesculus*, applied to men, in the sense of "underfed", "thin". Similarly he understood *vegrandis* to mean "small".[1] The learned grammarian Aulus Gellius twice discussed the adjective *vescus* and arrived at the remarkable conclusion that it might mean either large or small, the particle *ve* being so elastic that it could be either stretched or contracted to fit the sense. However, he was compelled to admit that in the adjectives *vesanus*, "insane" and *vecordes*, "senseless" the prefix has a purely privative or negative sense.[2] On the whole, the adjective *vescus* seems best explained in the sense of "thin", "small", "fine", and in its application to the human body as "slender", "slim", "spare", "lean".

III. 449. **And now when the stars shall spangle the blue sky, look up: you will see the neck of the Gorgonian steed.**— "The Gorgonian steed" is the winged horse Pegasus, which, as Ovid immediately explains, was supposed to have sprung from the severed neck of the Gorgon Medusa.[3] So Juvenal, in satiric vein, speaks of "the Gorgonian nag";[4] and Persius says that he had never washed his lips at the Nag's Fount,[5] meaning, with equal candour and truth, that he had never drunk of "the true, the blushful Hippocrene". The spring, which Pegasus is said to have created by a stamp of his hoof, is still to be seen in a grassy glade of the pinewoods high up on Mount Helicon: the ice-cold water lies at the bottom of an ivy-mantled well enclosed by ancient masonry. After this exploit the steed is related to have soared heavenward and to have been set by Jupiter among the stars.[6] In another passage Ovid calls Hippocrene the spring of Medusa.[7]

Columella dates the morning rising of the Horse (that is, of Pegasus) on the seventh of March,[8] which agrees with Ovid's dating if we suppose the poet to refer to the morning

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Vesculi", p. 519 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 9-10, xvi. 5. 4-7.

[3] Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 280 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, ii. 4. 3; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 785 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 151.

[4] Juvenal, iii. 118, "*Gorgonei . . . caballi*".

[5] Persius, *Prologue*, 1, "*Nec fonte labra prolui caballino*".

[6] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 215 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 18; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 18; Pausanias, ix. 31. 3, with my commentary (vol. v. p. 158).

[7] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 312.

[8] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 24.

rising of the constellation, which seems probable; for its rising at evening falls at quite a different time of the year. In Ovid's time the morning rising of Pegasus is calculated to have occurred on the eleventh of March.[1]

III. 456. **when his light hoof struck out the Aonian spring.** —"The Aonian spring" is Hippocrene on Helicon. The Aonians were a Boeotian people.[2] Here and elsewhere Ovid uses the adjective Aonian as a poetical equivalent of Boeotian,[3] and he speaks of the Muses as the Aonides.[4]

III. 459. **Straightway at the fall of night shalt thou see the Cnossian Crown.**—It is said that when Bacchus wedded Ariadne in the isle of Dia, Venus and the Hours gave the bride a marriage crown wrought by Hephaestus of fiery gold and Indian gems, and that after her death the crown was placed in the sky, where the gems were turned to stars.[5] Ovid calls the crown Cnossian, because Minos, the father of Ariadne, was king of Cnossus in Crete,[6] and there Daedalus wrought for her a beautiful dancing-floor.[7] For the same reason Virgil before him had spoken of "the Cnossian star of the blazing Crown".[8] Elsewhere Ovid calls it the Cretan Crown.[9] The rising of the constellation of the Crown at evening appears to have occurred in Ovid's time on the tenth of March, so that the poet is here out in his reckoning only by two days.[10] Ovid alludes to the constellation later on in the poem.[11]

III. 460. **It was through the fault of Theseus that Ariadne**

[1] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 149.

[2] Pausanias, ix. 5. 1; Strabo, vii. 7. 1, p. 321, ix. 1. 20, p. 397, ix. 2. 3, p. 401.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 490, with the note, *Metamorph.* i. 313, iii. 339, vii. 763, ix. 112, x. 589, xii. 24.

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 333, vi. 2.

[5] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 71-73; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 5; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 176-182; Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 5; Scholia on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 69 (p. 384 ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 222.

[6] Homer, *Od.* xix. 178 *sq.*

[7] Homer, *Il.* xviii. 590-592.

[8] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 222.

[9] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 556.

[10] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 143.

[11] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 345 *sq.*

was made a goddess.—The story of Theseus and Ariadne was told with many variations, but the current version, followed by Ovid, was this. Androgeos, the son of the Cretan king Minos, was murdered in Attica, and in revenge his father required that every nine years the Athenians should send a tribute of seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured by the Minotaur, the monster, half bull, half man, who had his lair in the heart of the labyrinth at Cnossus. Twice the tribute had been duly delivered, and when the time came for the third delivery, the young prince Theseus volunteered to be one of the victims. On his arrival in Crete the king's daughter Ariadne fell in love with him and gave him a ball of thread, one end of which he fastened to the lintel of the door when he entered the labyrinth, and the rest he unwound and paid out behind him as he penetrated into the heart of the maze, where he surprised the Minotaur asleep and slew him. Then he retraced his steps, gathering up the thread as he went, till he issued safe from the labyrinth. Then he sailed away with Ariadne, whom he had promised to make his wife. But landing in the island of Dia or of Naxos (for accounts differed on this point), he basely deserted her, leaving her to lament her faithless lover to the winds and waves. However, in her solitude she was found and loved by Bacchus (Dionysus), who consoled her for the loss of her human lover by making her his wife and setting her crown among the stars.[1] Zeus made her immortal and ageless.[2] The story was told by the old Attic antiquary Pherecydes,[3] from whom later writers probably borrowed it.

III. 465. **Meantime Liber had conquered the straight-haired Indians and returned from the eastern world.**—In the later times of antiquity there ran a story that Bacchus or Dionysus, with whom Ovid here, as often, identifies the

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 155-182, *Ars Amat.* i. 525-562, *Heroides*, x.; Catullus, lxiv. 76-201; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41-43; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14, and *Georg.* i. 222; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192 and *Theb.* xii. 676; Apollodorus, iii. 15. 7-8 and *Epitome*, i. 7-9; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60-61; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 15-20 (who cites many variants of the story); Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, xviii. 590 and on *Od.* xi. 322; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 320, p. 1688.

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 947-949.

[3] Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322. Pherecydes is mentioned also by Plutarch among his authorities (*Theseus*, 19. 1).

Roman Liber, led an army to India, conquered the whole country to the Ganges, and returned in triumph, laden with spoils. In the Euhemeristic version of Diodorus Siculus, the god, or rather the man, introduced the elements of civilization and religion among the barbarous natives, and after reigning over India for fifty-two years, died and was succeeded on the throne by his sons.[1] His army is said to have consisted mostly of wild Bacchanal women clad in fawnskins and wreathed with ivy: the god himself, wearing a crown of clustering grapes, rode in a car drawn by leopards; and the whole host marched, or rather danced, to the music of cymbals and tambourines instead of to the martial strains of drums and trumpets.[2] The story of the god's conquest of India and triumphal return appears to have originated after Alexander's Indian campaigns and to have been an imitation, if not a parody, of the great king's military exploits;[3] but the general idea of the god's journeys far and wide in Asia was certainly older, for Euripides, who died before Alexander the Great was born, has put into the mouth of Bacchus an account of his wanderings over Lydia, Phrygia, Persia, Bactria, Media, Araby the Blest, and the whole of Asia.[4] Late writers affirmed that on his march through Carmania the great Macedonian conqueror imitated the legendary progress of Dionysus at the head of his Bacchanalian rout, but the tale was not countenanced by the earlier and more sober historians of Alexander's conquests.[5] The story of the rovings of Dionysus in Asia may have been suggested by a simple observation of the wide geographical diffusion of the vine. Wherever the plant was cultivated and wine made from the grapes, there it might be thought that the vine-god had passed, with his merry crew, dispensing the boon or the bane

[1] Diodorus Siculus, ii. 38, iv. 5. 2 (as to his triumphal return); Lucian, *Dionysus*, 1-4; Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 1. 1-2, vi. 28. 1-2; Polyaenus, *Strateg.* i. 1; Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1-2; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 904; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 20 *sq.*

[2] Lucian, *Dionysus*, 1-2; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 38. 6; Polyaenus, *Strateg.* i. 1. 1.

[3] Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 702 *sqq.*

[4] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 13-20.

[5] Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi. 28. 1-2; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 67. As to the assimilation of Alexander to Dionysus see A. D. Nock, "Notes on Ruler-cult, I. Alexander and Dionysus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xlviii. (1928) pp. 21 *sqq.*

of his gifts to mortals. There seems to be some reason to hold that the original home of the vine was in the regions to the south of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, where the vine still grows wild " with the luxuriant wildness of a tropical creeper, clinging to tall trees and producing abundant fruit without pruning or cultivation ".[1] But, as we see from the testimony of Euripides, these are precisely the regions which Bacchus was supposed to have traversed on his journeys.

III. 467. **Amongst the fair captive girls there was one, the daughter of a king, who pleased Bacchus all too well.**— This story of a captive Indian princess, to whom the fickle Bacchus was thought to have been partial, and of whom his bride Ariadne was jealous, seems not to be mentioned by other ancient writers. At least I do not remember to have met with it elsewhere.

III. 499. **The horns of a handsome bull won my mother's heart, thine won mine.**—Pasiphae, the mother of Ariadne, was said to have conceived a passion for a bull and by intercourse with it to have brought forth the Minotaur, a monster with the body of a man and the head of a bull.[2] Bacchus, the divine lover of Ariadne, was often represented with bull's horns ; Ovid refers to them again later on in this book.[3] The god was even believed to appear, at least occasionally, in the form of a bull.[4] The women of Elis hailed him as a bull, and prayed him to come with his bull's foot.[5] Types of the horned Dionysus are found among the surviving monuments of antiquity.[6] One statuette represents him clad in a bull's hide, with the head, horns, and hoofs hanging down

[1] A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), pp. 191 *sqq.* Compare A. Engler, in Victor Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien* [7] (Berlin, 1902), pp. 85 *sqq.*

[2] Apollodorus, iii. 1. 4 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 40 ; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 289 *sqq.* ; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 479-489.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 789.

[4] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 920 *sqq.* ; Nonnus, *Dionys.* vi. 197 *sqq.*

[5] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 36, *Isis et Osiris*, 35.

[6] Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. pl. xxxiii ; F. Lenormant, *s.v.* " Bacchus ", in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, i. 1, pp. 619 *sq.*, 631 ; E. Thraemer, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, *s.v.* " Dionysos ", i. 1149 *sqq.* ; F. Imhoof-Blumer, " Coin-types of some Kilikian Cities ", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. (1898) p. 165.

behind.[1] It was apparently in his character of a god of vegetation and fertility that Dionysus (Bacchus) assumed the attributes and even the form of a bull.[2] The ancients, who had forgotten the primitive mode of thought which confounded the principles of vegetable and animal life, sometimes explained the horns of Dionysus by saying that he had been the first to yoke oxen to the plough.[3]

III. 503. **they say thou wert born in the fire and wert snatched from the fire by thy father's hand.**—Semele, the mother of Bacchus, is said to have requested her lover Jupiter (Zeus), by whom she was with child, to visit her in his full majesty. He complied with the rash request, but his lightning blasted her, and from the flames Jupiter snatched her unborn infant Bacchus and sewed him up in his own thigh till the time came for him to be born in due course.[4]

III. 512. **in thy changed state thy name shall be Libera.**—Here Ovid identifies the Greek heroine Ariadne with the old Roman goddess Libera. That explains why he said (line 460) that Ariadne was made a goddess; for in Greek religion Ariadne never attained to the rank of a true divinity, though Zeus is said to have made her immortal and ageless. The same identification of Libera with Ariadne is assumed by Hyginus.[5] More usually Libera is equated to Proserpine and coupled with Ceres, who in turn was equated to Demeter, the mother of Proserpine.[6] In reality Liber and Libera were an ancient pair of native Italian deities, who, if we can trust the testimony of Augustine, presided over human seed, the god Liber presiding over the seed of men, and the goddess Libera presiding over the seed of women.[7] The pair were

[1] F. G. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler* (Göttingen, 1849–1864), v. taf. 2. For more evidence see *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 16 *sq.*

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 3 *sqq.*

[3] Diodorus Siculus, iii. 64. 1, iv. 4. 2.

[4] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1-3, 243-245; Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2. 2 *sq.*, v. 52. 2; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 288-312; Hyginus, *Fab.* 167 and 179. See also below, *Fasti*, iii. 715-718.

[5] Hyginus, *Fab.* 224.

[6] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. iv. 48. 106, "*Liberam, quam eandem Proserpinam vocant*"; compare *id.*, Act. ii. lib. v. 72. 187; *id.*, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 24. 62; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 21, "*Quam aetas mortalium consequens modo Liberam modo Proserpinam nuncupavit*".

[7] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 11, "*Ipse praesit nomine Liberi virorum seminibus, et nomine Liberae feminarum*"; *id.*, vi. 9, "*Liberum a liberamento*

worshipped together at the festival of the Liberalia on the seventeenth of March ; [1] and their heads are exhibited on the obverse and reverse respectively of coins (*denarii*) issued by L. Cassius about 79 B.C. In their portraits on the coins the god and goddess are clearly identified with Dionysus and his female partner ; for he wears a crown of ivy-leaves, and a thyrsus peeps out behind him, while she wears a wreath of vine-leaves and clustered grapes.[2] Liber and Libera are also coupled in inscriptions,[3] and at the vintage sacrifices were offered to them jointly.[4]

III. 519. **thou shalt a second time behold horse races (Equirria) on that grassy plain.**—The first festival of horse-racing (Equirria) was held on the twenty-seventh of February, as Ovid has duly noted.[5] The Equirria on the fourteenth of March, to which our author here refers, is recorded in the Maffeian, Vatican, and Esquiline calendars ; the Vatican adds a note, " holyday (*feriae*) for Mars " ; the Rustic calendars have the entry, " Sacred rite (*sacrum*) for Mamurius " ; and in the calendar of Philocalus there is the entry " *Mamuralia* ".[6] The meaning of Mamurius and Mamuralia has been already discussed and explained.[7]

III. 523. **On the Ides is held the jovial feast of Anna Perenna not far from thy banks, O Tiber.**—From a note in the Vatican calendar under the Ides (the 15th) of March we learn that the feast (*feriae*) of Anna Perenna was celebrated at the first milestone on the Flaminian Way.[8] Hence the place would seem to have been near the site of the present Porta del Popolo, the northern gate of Rome, and not far from

---

appellatum volunt, quod mares in coëundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur : hoc idem in feminis agere Liberam, quam etiam Venerem putant, quod et ipsas perhibeant semina emittere ; et ob hoc Libero eandem virilem corporis partem in templo poni, femineam Liberae " ; compare *id.*, vii. 2 and 3. Augustine's authority for these interpretations was Varro in his book on *Dei selecti* (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 9, vii. 2).

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 713 *sqq.*, with the note.

[2] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 329.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3378, 3380, 3381, 3382.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xii. 17. 4.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 857-860, with the note.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 210, 223, 242, 260, 280, 311.

[7] See *Fasti*, iii. 259 *sq.*, with the note.

[8] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 242, 311, " *Feriae Annae Perennae via Flam(inia) ad lapidem prim(um)* ".

the river.[1] Here, apparently between the Flaminian and the Salarian roads, the goddess had a fruitful grove which was visible from the Janiculum. Martial, who mentions this, says that the grove "delights in virgin blood",[2] an obscure allusion which hitherto has not been explained. Macrobius tells us that in the month of March people went to Anna Perenna to sacrifice both publicly and privately in order that they might pass the year and many other years in prosperity;[3] and to the same effect Joannes Lydus says that on the Ides (the 15th) of March public prayers were offered that the year might be healthy.[4] Taken in conjunction with the custom, mentioned by Ovid (lines 531-534), of praying that the wassailers might live as many years as they quaffed cups of wine, these statements furnish a clue to the nature of the festival and of the goddess herself. As Anna she is a feminine personification of the year (*annus*); as Perenna she is a personification of the endless succession of the years; hence we need not wonder that she was conceived as an old, old woman.[5] The festival was a New Year festival; for March was the first month of the old Roman year, and the Ides of March was the first full moon of the New Year, a very appropriate day for good wishes and prayers for that and for many years to follow. The celebration of the festival, as described by Ovid, was a thoroughly popular one. The pairing of sweethearts, lying on the grass, trolling out ribald

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 50 note[4].

[2] Martial, iv. 64. 16 *sqq.*, "*Et quod virgineo cruore gaudet | Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae. | Illinc Flaminiae Salariaeque | gestator patet essedo tacente*".

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 6, "*Eodem quoque mense et publice et privatim ad Annam Perennam sacrificatum itur, ut annare perennareque commode liceat*". Here I understand *annare* to mean "to pass the year", and *perennare* "to pass many years". The two words appear to be commonly taken together in the sense "to pass *the whole* year". But the verb *perennare* and the corresponding adjective *perennis* refer not to one year but to a long succession of years, almost in the sense of "for ever". Thus when Ovid says (*Ars Amat.* iii. 42), "*arte perennat amor*", he does not mean that with care love will last for a whole year, but that it will last for ever; and when Horace says (*Odes*, iii. 30. 1) that he had reared for himself a monument "*aere perennius*", he does not mean that the monument will last a whole year, but that it will last for ever. Similarly *amnes perennes* (Livy, iv. 30. 7) are not rivers that flow for a whole year, but that flow year in, year out, in fact for ever. Our English adjective "perennial", derived from the Latin, retains the same sense.

[4] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 49, p. 105 ed. Wuensch.

[5] This is implied by the narrative of Ovid below (lines 667 *sqq.*, 689 *sqq.*).

staves, and drinking themselves drunk, point to customs like those formerly observed on May Day and Midsummer Eve in many parts of Europe, when the licence accorded to the sexes was a relic of magical rites performed for the purpose of maintaining the fertility of nature alike in the greenwoods and the fields, in man and beast. In this licence we may perhaps detect the true explanation of Martial's allusion to "the virgin blood" in which the grove of the goddess delighted. It was a day of Valentines, and into the tents and leafy huts on the greensward of the grove many a girl may have gone in a maid who came out a maid no more.[1]

Ovid tells us (lines 541-542) that in the procession of Anna Perenna he saw a drunk old woman lugging along a drunk old man. It has been suggested by Mr. E. H. Alton that the drunk old woman was no other than Anna Perenna herself, represented either in effigy or by a tipsy old crone; and that the drunk old man, whom she was haling along, personated Mamurius Veturius, the Old Mars of the preceding year, on whom the ancient Anna, according to the tale, had been palmed off in place of his blooming young bride. In support of this view Mr. Alton refers to Petreia, the name given to a woman, or the effigy of a woman, who headed processions in colonies and municipalities, imitating the appearance and behaviour of a tipsy old woman.[2] Mr. Alton regards this Petreia as an Italian sister of Anna, who may have had a male companion named Petro; for Petrones is said to have been a name applied to bumpkins gone in years.[3] Mr. Alton also suggests that Anna of Bovillae, whom Ovid mentions later on,[4] may have been the local Petreia. The theory is certainly ingenious and may possibly be right.[5]

[1] As to Anna Perenna and her festival compare L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 343-346; H. Usener, "Italische Mythen", *Kleine Schriften*, iv. (Leipzig, Berlin, 1913) pp. 119-122; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 50-54; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 473-477; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 241 *sq.*; Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 197-199.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Petreia", p. 281 ed. Lindsay, "*Petreia vocabatur, quae pompam praecedens in colonis aut municipiis imitabatur anum ebriam, ab agri vitio, scilicet petris, appellata[m]*".

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Petrones", p. 226 ed. Lindsay, "*Petrones rustici fere dicunter propter vetustatem*".

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 667.

[5] E. H. Alton, "Anna Perenna and Mamurius Veturius", *Hermathena*, No. xlii. (Dublin and London, 1920) pp. 100-104.

III. 534. **a woman who would live to the Sibyl's age if cups could do the trick.**—The great age of the Sibyl of Cumae was proverbial.[1] Elsewhere Ovid tells how the Sibyl informed Aeneas that Apollo had granted to her to live as many years as there were grains in a certain heap of sand; that she had already lived seven hundred years and had still three more hundred years to live; and that in extreme old age she would shrivel up into so small a bulk as to be invisible to the naked eye, though her voice would still remain audible.[2] Acting on this hint, perhaps, Petronius makes Trimalchio affirm that at Cumae he had seen with his own eyes the Sibyl hanging in a bottle, and that when the boys asked her, "Sibyl, what do you wish?" she answered, "I wish to die".[3] By the middle of the second century of our era the Sibyl's wish would seem to have been granted, for in a temple of Apollo at Cumae visitors were shown a small stone urn in which her bones were said to rest.[4] According to another account, the vessel which contained her dust at Cumae was a bronze urn.[5] Ampellius says that the Sibyl was reported to be shut up in a round iron cage which hung from a pillar in an ancient temple of Hercules at Argyrus.[6] Dr. M. R. James, now Provost of Eton, pointed out long ago that parallels to the story of the Sibyl's wish are to be found in German folk-tales.[7] One of these tales runs thus: Once upon a time there was a girl in London who wished to live for ever, so they say:

> "*London, London is a fine town.*
> *A maiden prayed to live for ever.*"

And still she lives and hangs in a basket in a church, and every St. John's Day about noon she eats a roll of bread.[8] Another story, taken down near Oldenburg in Holstein, tells of a jolly dame that ate and drank and lived right merrily and had all that heart could desire, and she wished to live for ever.

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 875, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 8. 41.
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 130-153.
[3] Petronius, *Satyricon*, 48.
[4] Pausanias, x. 12. 8.
[5] Justin Martyr, *Cohort. ad Graecos*, 37, p. 34 C ed. 1742. Compare H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890), p. 57.
[6] Ampellius, *Liber Memorialis*, viii. 16.
[7] M. R. James, in *The Classical Review*, vi. (1892) p. 74.
[8] A. Kuhn und W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* (Leipzig, 1848), p. 70, No. 72. 1.

For the first hundred years all went well, but after that she began to shrink and shrivel up till at last she could neither walk nor stand nor eat nor drink. But die she could not. At first they fed her as if she were a little child, but when she grew smaller and smaller, they put her in a glass bottle and hung her up in the church. And there she still hangs, in the church of St. Mary at Lubeck. She is as small as a mouse, but once a year she stirs.[1]

III. 543. **But since diverse rumours are current as to who this goddess is, I am resolved to make no mystery of her story.**—Ovid admits that opinions were divided as to the nature and history of the goddess Anna Perenna. The view which he adopts and expounds at great length (lines 545-654) is in brief that she was Dido's sister Anna, whom Virgil had made famous and familiar ;[2] that after Dido's suicide Anna came to Italy, where she was kindly received by Aeneas, but fearing a plot of his jealous wife Lavinia, of which she was warned by her sister Dido in a dream, she fled and was swept away by the neighbouring river Numicius, then in flood. They sought her and traced her by her footprints to the river's brink ; and from the depth of the water her voice was heard to say that she was now a nymph of the river, and that her name was Anna Perenna, by which was meant "the perennial stream" (*amnis perennis*). This childish explanation seems to have no better foundation than the accidental coincidence or resemblance of words. Such as it is, it is repeated at full length by Silius Italicus, whose account follows closely that of Ovid, except that he substitutes Cyrene for Melite (Malta), as the land where King Battus received the fugitive Anna before she was cast away on the Laurentine shore.[3]

III. 552. **Iarba the Moor captured and took possession of the palace.**—Iarba or Iarbas was a Moorish king whose suit Dido (*Elissa*) had rejected.[4]

III. 555. **as bees oft wander doubtingly when they have lost their king.**—The ancients from Aristotle downward

[1] K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen, und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauenberg* (Kiel, 1845), pp. 158 *sq.*, No. 217. See further my note on Pausanias, ix. 12. 8 (vol. v. pp. 292 *sq.*).

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 9 *sqq.*

[3] Silius Italicus, viii. 50-202.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 36, 196 *sqq.*

commonly mistook the queen-bee for a king ; [1] but curiously enough the soldier Xenophon knew what escaped the naturalist Aristotle and the book-learned Pliny, that the head of the hive is a female.[2]

III. 561. **the soft ashes . . . received an offering of hair clipped from her head.**—It is a common custom of mourners to shear their hair and offer it to the dead. Homer tells how the Greeks before Troy covered the corpse of Patroclus with their shorn tresses, and how Achilles laid in the hand of his dead friend a lock of his own hair.[3] Orestes is said to have laid a lock of his hair on the tomb of his murdered father Agamemnon.[4] Similar customs have been observed by mourners in many parts of the world. The Omaha Indians of North America, like the ancient Greeks, used to cut off locks of their hair and throw them on the corpse,[5] and in some parts of Australia the aborigines were formerly in the habit of doing the same.[6] Among the Arapaho Indians of North America mourners cut off locks of their hair and bury them with the body.[7]

III. 565. **she glided before the wind.**—More literally, " she glided with the sheets drawing equally ". The sheets (which the Romans called the feet) are the ropes fastened to the lower corners of the sails. When the wind is full astern, the sheets are equally taut and stretched to equal lengths. The commentators quote a similar expression applied by Catullus to his cutter, which could either tack or run before the wind.[8]

[1] Aristotle, *Histor. Animal.* v. 21 *sq.*, ix. 40, pp. 553, 623 *sqq.* ed. Bekker ; *id.*, *De animalium generatione*, iii. 10, p. 760 ed. Bekker ; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, i. 10, v. 10 *sq.* ; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 21, 68, 201, 210 *sqq.* ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi. 52-54 ; W. Walter-Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 30 *sqq.*

[2] Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, vii. 32-34.

[3] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 135-153.

[4] Aeschylus, *Choephor*, 4 *sqq.*, 167 *sqq.* ; Sophocles, *Electra*, 51-53, 900 *sq.* ; Euripides, *Electra*, 90 *sq.*, 513 *sqq.* For other Greek instances see Apollonius Rhodius, i. 1057 *sq.* ; Apollodorus, i. 9. 18 ; *Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 489. 3 *sq.*

[5] Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, " The Omaha Tribe ", *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1911), p. 591.

[6] (Sir) George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* (London, 1841), ii. 335.

[7] A. L. Kroeber, " The Arapaho ", *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii. Part I. (New York, 1902) pp. 16 *sq.* For more evidence see my *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 299, with the references.

[8] Catullus, iv. 19-21, " *Laeva sive dextera | vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iupiter | simul secundus incidisset in pedem* ".

III. 567. **There is a fertile island Melite.**—Melite or Melita is Malta. Both Malta and the neighbouring island of Gaulos (the modern Gozo) were Phoenician or rather Carthaginian colonies.[1] Hence Anna, herself by birth a Phoenician, would naturally meet with hospitality from the king of the island. Afterwards Malta belonged to the Carthaginians, but was surrendered by them to the Romans in the Second Punic War, 218 B.C.[2] It is said that the modern Maltese dialect is still a branch of the oldest group of Semitic languages.[3] The island of Cosyra, Cossyra, or Cossura, mentioned by Ovid, is the modern Pantellaria. According to Strabo, it is distant five hundred stades from Malta.[4] Some modern commentators on Ovid confound it with Gaulos (the modern Gozo), which is divided from Malta only by a narrow channel. Cossyra and Gaulos are clearly distinguished by Scylax, Pliny, and Mela.[5] In 254 B.C., during the First Punic War, the proconsuls Servius Fulvius Paetinus and Marcus Aemilius Paullus celebrated a triumph for a naval victory over the Cossyreans and Carthaginians.[6] From this and other indications Ernest Renan was led to surmise that at one time Cossyra had been a great Punic centre comparable to Carthage itself, and he contemplated making an archaeological exploration of the island. But on fuller consideration he renounced the project.[7]

III. 570. **for Battus there was king.**—Battus was the name of the first king of Cyrene and that of several of his successors on the throne ;[8] but, so far as I am aware, Ovid is the only authority for a king of Malta named Battus. Hence Silius Italicus sought to correct Ovid by making Anna take refuge with Battus, king of Cyrene, instead of with Battus, king of Malta.[9]

III. 574. **he feared Pygmalion's mighty power.**—Pygmalion

[1] Diodorus Siculus, v. 12. 2-4; Scylax, *Periplus*, 111 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, i. 89); Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Μελίτη.

[2] Livy, xxi. 51. 1 *sq.*

[3] J. Jung, *Grundriss der Geographie von Italien und dem Orbis Romanus* (Munich, 1897), p. 68.

[4] Strabo, xvii. 3. 16, p. 834.

[5] Scylax, *Periplus*, 111; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 92, v. 42; Mela, i. 120, p. 60 ed. Parthey.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 47.

[7] Ernest Renan, *Correspondance*, ii. (Paris, 1928) pp. 167 *sq.*, 172.

[8] Herodotus, iv. 150-163.

[9] Silius Italicus, viii. 57 *sqq.*

was king of Tyre and brother of Dido and Anna. He treacherously murdered Dido's husband Sychaeus. But the ghost of the murdered man disclosed the crime to Dido in a dream and revealed a hidden treasure. Acting on the hint given her by her dead spouse, Dido unearthed the hoard, packed it on ships, and fled across the sea to Africa, where she founded Carthage.[1] The name Pygmalion is a Greek corruption of the Phoenician Pumi-yathon, which occurs in a Phoenician inscription of Cyprus as the name of a king of Citium and Idalium.[2] Again, the name Pygmalion occurs, along with that of Astarte, in a Phoenician (Punic) inscription on a gold medallion, which was found in a grave at Carthage in 1894 ; the letters are of the earliest type.[3]

III. 581. **Near the fishy streams of stony Crathis.**—The Crathis is a river of Southern Italy near the ancient Sybaris ; its water was said to make the hair yellow or white of such as drank of it.[4] The district which Ovid calls Camere seems to be otherwise unknown.

III. 594. **the steersman no longer handles the helm ; he, too, betakes himself to prayers for help.**—In a storm the piety and the pusillanimity of ancient mariners appear to have been equally conspicuous.[5] Their descendants seemingly retain the defect of their quality. Paley quotes Sir Charles Fellows saying that the Greeks, " should the gale increase to a storm, will quit the helm and leave the vessel adrift, to repeat their prayers and cries of despair ".

III. 611. **The Cytherean hero perceived her distress.**—Aeneas is called " the Cytherean hero " because his reputed mother was Venus (Aphrodite), whose sacred island was Cythera, off the southern coast of Laconia. The sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite (Venus) in the island was said to be the holiest and the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of the goddess in Greece : her image represented her armed.[6]

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 346 *sqq.* ; Justin, xviii. 4, who calls Elissa's (Dido's) husband Acerbas.

[2] G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 55 *sq.*, 57 *sq.* Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 49 *sq.*

[3] G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 55 note [1].

[4] Strabo, vi. 1. 13, p. 263 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 13-14, citing Theophrastus.

[5] See the passages quoted in the Critical Note.

[6] Pausanias, iii. 23. 1. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 15, below, p. 164.

III. 619. **I saw the unseemly wounds upon her body what time I dared to visit the house of Tartarus.**—Virgil has described how in the nether world Aeneas saw, as by the glimmering light of a clouded moon, the shade of Dido wandering alone in a great forest, and how he addressed her with soothing words, but the proud queen in silence turned disdainfully away and vanished in the shadows of the wood.[1] So when Ulysses saw the soul of his gallant rival Ajax in the land of the dead, he vainly tried with soft words to salve the wound that rankled in his breast ; but the ghost answered never a word and stalked scowling away.[2]

III. 639. **Before her sister's bed it seemed that Dido stood, her unkempt hair dabbled in blood.**—Anna's dream is related by Silius Italicus, who has reported the speech of the gory ghost much more fully.[3]

III. 647. **'Tis thought the horned Numicius swept her away in his swollen stream.**—The river Numicius is usually identified with the modern *Rio Torto*, a small river of Latium, with a sluggish and winding stream, which flows into the sea between Lavinium (the modern *Prattica di Mare*) and Ardea.[4] This seems certainly to be the stream which Pliny regarded as the Numicius, for in his description of the coast of Latium from Ostia southward he mentions the river Numicius between Laurentum (Lavinium) and Ardea.[5] The same identification is favoured by the narrative of Dionysius of Halicarnassus ; for he says that the battle in which Aeneas fell was fought not far from Lavinium, and that the river Numicius, in which some thought that Aeneas was drowned, flowed past the battlefield.[6] To the same effect Aurelius Victor, or the writer who goes by that name, says that the last battle of Aeneas was fought under the walls of Lavinium beside the Numicius.[7] However, in recent years a different identification has been proposed by M. Jérôme Carcopino. He holds that the first settlement of the Trojans in Latium

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 450-476.
[2] Homer, *Od.* xi. 541-567.
[3] Silius Italicus, viii. 165-185.
[4] E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 453.
[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 56.
[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 64. 4-5.
[7] Aurelius Victor, *De origine gentis Romanae*, 14. 2.

was believed to have been at the mouth of the Tiber on the site afterwards occupied by Ostia, and he would identify as the Numicius the stream now called the canal of the Marsh (*Canale dello Stagno*), which drains the marshes of Ostia and falls into the sea about two miles to the south-east of the mouth of the Tiber. In favour of this identification he points out that Virgil repeatedly couples the Numicius and the Tiber,[1] which is natural enough if the two rivers were only a couple of miles apart, but which is much less natural if they were separated by a distance of nineteen miles, as the *Rio Torto* is from the Tiber.[2]

The last battle of Aeneas, after which he was seen no more, was fought on the banks of the Numicius. Some said that he was buried beside the river, others that he was drowned in the water. He was given the title of Jupiter Indiges (Native Jupiter), and under that title a chapel and a grove were dedicated to him near the river, of which he was deemed the guardian god; Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the place as a little mound with fine trees planted in a row round about it.[3] Arnobius mocked at the Native Gods who crawled into a river and lodged in the bed of the Numicius with frogs and little fishes.[4] Elsewhere Ovid has described how at the bidding of Venus the river-god Numicius washed away in his water all that was mortal of Aeneas, after which the goddess, his divine mother, anointed his body with perfume, touched his lips with nectar and ambrosia, and made him a god, whom the Roman people called Indiges and honoured with temple and altars.[5] In this latter passage, as in the present one, Ovid applies the epithet "horned" (*corniger*) to the Numicius. River-gods were commonly represented with horns. Virgil applies the same adjective "horned" (*corniger*) to the Tiber,[6] and in another passage he speaks of the Eridanus (the Po) with two horns and the

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 150 *sq.*, 242, 797 *sq.*

[2] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), pp. 480-491.

[3] Livy, i. 2. 6; Aurelius Victor, *De origine gentis Romanae*, 14. 2-4; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 64. 4-5 (his chapel—ἠρῶον—and his character as god of the river); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 56 (his sacred grove); Tibullus, ii. 5. 43 *sq.*; *C.I.L.* i.² p. 189, No. I.; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 63.

[4] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, i. 36.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 597-608.

[6] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 77.

face of a bull.[1] When the river Achelous came to woo Dejanira, he presented himself to the damsel's father, now in the likeness of a bull, now in that of a serpent, and now with the body of a man and the front of an ox, while streams of water flowed from his shaggy beard. But in none of these shifting characters did he win the lady's heart.[2]

III. 658. **others deem that she is Themis.**—Why Anna Perenna should be identified with Themis is not clear. Themis is said to have managed the oracle at Delphi before Apollo took it over,[3] but there seems no suggestion that Anna Perenna was an oracular goddess. According to Musaeus, when Zeus (Jupiter) was born, his mother Rhea entrusted him to Themis, who gave him to Amalthea, who nursed him on the milk of a goat.[4] Ovid may have had this service to Jupiter in his mind in mentioning Themis, for in the next two lines he refers to a similar service rendered to Jupiter by a nymph. But why such a service should be a ground for comparing Anna Perenna to Themis remains obscure. Miss Jane Harrison boldly identified Themis and the " Inachian cow " with " the Moon as the Measurer and as the Hornèd Wanderer through the sky " ; and she regarded Anna Perenna as a personification of the Moon-Year.[5]

III. 658. **others suppose that she is the Inachian cow.**—By " the Inachian cow " Ovid probably means Isis ; for the Egyptian goddess was identified with Io, daughter of Inachus, whom the jealous Hera (Juno) was said to have transformed into a cow.[6]

III. 659. **You shall find some to say that thou, Anna, art a nymph, daughter of Atlas, and that thou didst give Jupiter his first food.**—This nymph is thought by some to be Hagno, the nymph of a spring on Mount Lycaeus, who is said to have been one of the three nurses of the infant Zeus.[7] But apparently no ancient author says that Hagno was a daughter of Atlas.

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 371 *sq.*
[2] Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 9-17.
[3] Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 1 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1259 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 4. 1 ; Pausanias, x. 5. 6 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 320 *sqq.*
[4] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 13 ; compare Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 13.
[5] Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 198 *sq.*
[6] Compare *Fasti*, i. 454, with the note, v. 619 *sq.*
[7] Pausanias, viii. 38. 3.

III. 663. **The common folk of old, not yet protected by tribunes, had fled, and abode upon the top of the Sacred Mount.**—In 494 B.C. a large part of the plebeians seceded from Rome and occupied the Sacred Mount, across the Anio, three miles from Rome. They were induced to return by the creation of popular magistrates, the tribunes of the people, who were to be elected from the plebeians only and to be charged with the duty of protecting the plebeian interests.[1]

III. 667. **There was a certain Anna, born at suburban Bovillae, a poor old woman.**—Bovillae was an ancient city of Latium on the Appian Way about twelve miles from Rome. Propertius, like Ovid, calls it suburban.[2] The story which Ovid now tells of an old woman called Anna who lived at Bovillae, appears, as the commentators have noted, to point to the worship of Anna Perenna at the city. We have seen that the Julian family worshipped Vedjovis at Bovillae.[3] A chapel of the Julian family was founded at Bovillae in the reign of Tiberius.[4]

III. 675. **Now it remains for me to tell why girls chant ribald songs; for they assemble and sing certain scurrilous verses.**—This custom Ovid explains by a story of the love of Mars for Minerva. According to the tale which he now unfolds, the god fell in love with Minerva and desired to marry her. So he begged the aged Anna Perenna, now raised to the godhead, to persuade the coy goddess to crown his wishes. Anna promised her help and professed to have elicited a promise of marriage from Minerva. But this was only a sham; for when all the preparations for the wedding had been made, and the bride was conducted to the bridal chamber, the bridegroom lifted her veil to salute her, but discovered, to his chagrin, that she was not Minerva but the old crone Anna herself.

In this story Minerva has probably taken the place of Nerio, an old goddess, whom ancient Roman writers, quoted by Aulus Gellius,[5] explicitly describe as the wife of Mars. The first author cited by Gellius is Plautus, who wrote either

[1] Livy, ii. 32-33; Festus, *s.v.* "Sacer mons", pp. 422, 424 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 45-90.
[2] Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 33.
[3] Above, p. 98, note on *Fasti*, iii. 429.
[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 41, xv. 23.
[5] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23.

at the end of the third century or at the beginning of the second century B.C. In one of his extant plays, the *Truculentus*, the dramatist wrote: "Mars arriving from abroad salutes his wife Nerio".[1] Plautus could hardly have used this language if the belief that Nerio was the wife of Mars had not been familiar to his audience. Again, the old comic dramatist Licinius Imbrex, quoted by Aulus Gellius, wrote: "I would not have you called Neaera but Nerio, since you have been given in marriage to Mars".[2] Once more Aulus Gellius quotes from the third book of the *Annals* of his namesake Cnaeus Gellius a passage in which Neria (another form of Nerio) is plainly mentioned as the wife of Mars. Cnaeus Gellius wrote in the second century B.C. The passage in question contains a prayer to Mars supposed to have been uttered by Hersilia, the wife of Romulus, on the occasion when she was interceding with the Sabine king Tatius to pardon the Romans for having carried off the Sabine women, of whom she herself was one. The prayer runs thus: "Neria (wife) of Mars, I beseech thee, grant us peace, that we may enjoy true and happy marriages, because it fell out by the advice of thy husband that they (the Romans) should carry off us virgins, for the purpose of getting children for themselves and their people, and posterity for the fatherland".[3] In this prayer for marriage, appropriately addressed by a human to a divine wife, the words "thy husband" (*tuus coniux*) refer, of course, to Mars, as Aulus Gellius observes, adding very justly, "whereby it appears that the expression of Plautus was not a poetical flourish, but that it was a tradition that Nerio was by some said to be the wife of Mars".[4]

[1] Plautus, *Truculentus*, 515, "*Mars peregre adveniens salutat Nerienem uxorem suam*".

[2] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 16, "*Licinius Imbrex, vetus comoediarum scriptor, in fabula, quae Neaera scripta est, ita scripsit:*

Nolo ego Neaeram te vocent, set Nerienem,
Cum quidem Marti es in conubium data".

[3] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 13, "*Sed id perite magis quam comice dictum (a Plauto) intelleget, qui leget Cn. Gellii Annalem tertium, in quo scriptum est Hersiliam, cum apud T. Tatium verba faceret pacemque oraret, ita precatam esse: 'Neria Martis te obsecro, pacem da, te, uti liceat nuptiis propriis et prosperis uti, quod de tui coniugis consilio contigit uti nos itidem integras raperent, unde liberos sibi et suis, posteros patriae pararent'*".

[4] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 14, "'*De tui*', *inquit*, '*coniugis consilio*', *Martem scilicet significans; per quod apparet, non esse id poetice a Plauto dictum,*

It is true that Aulus Gellius himself, writing in the second century A.D., preferred to explain Nerio, not as the wife, but merely as "the force, power, and majesty" of Mars;[1] but no weight can be attached to this explanation, since it is merely an etymological guess based on a fanciful derivation of Nerio from the Greek *neuron* through the Latin *nervus*.[2] Further, in a passage of Martianus Capella on the uxoriousness of the gods the love of Mars for his wife Nerio is mentioned in terms which agree so closely with those in which Ovid describes the passion of Mars for Minerva that both authors would seem to have drawn on the same source, in which Nerio, not Minerva, was represented as the wife of Mars.[3] Lastly, the assumed substitution of Minerva for Nerio in the story of Mars's wooing is confirmed by a note of the old scholiast Porphyrion on Horace, which runs thus: "There is a religious scruple about marrying in the month of May and also in March, in which a contest concerning marriage was held wherein Mars was vanquished by Minerva, and having maintained her virginity she was called Neriene".[4] Here, as Warde Fowler observed, Neriene is clearly equivalent to Nerio, and "this looks much like an attempt to explain the occurrence of two female names, Minerva and Nerio,

sed eam quoque traditionem fuisse, ut Nerio a quibusdam uxor esse Martis diceretur".

[1] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 10, "*Nerio igitur Martis vis et potentia et maiestas quaedam esse Martis demonstratur*".

[2] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 7-9, "*Id autem, sive Nerio sive Nerienes est, Sabinum verbum est, eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo. Itaque ex Claudiis quos a Sabinis oriundos accepimus, qui erat egregia atque praestanti fortitudine, Nero appellatus est. Sed id Sabini accepisse a Graecis videntur, qui vincula et firmamenta membrorum* νεῦρα *dicunt, unde nos quoque Latine nervos appellamus.*"

[3] Martianus Capella, i. 4, pp. 2-3 ed. Eyssenhardt, "*Nec solum superum regem attestabantur uxorium idque etiam Diti propositum idque Portuno certumque esse Gradivum Nerienis* [*Nerinae*] *coniugis amore torreri*". With the expression "*Nerienis coniugis amore torreri*" compare the expression of Ovid (lines 681 *sq.*) "*correptus amore Minervae uror*".

[4] Porphyrion, on Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 209, "*Maio mense religio est nubere, et item Martio, in quo de nuptiis habito certamine a Minerva Mars victus est, et obtenta virginitate Minerva Neriene est appellata*". In this passage G. Meyer in his edition of Porphyrion (p. 343) prints in his text the confessedly corrupt reading "*deputetis habito a Minerva*" instead of the obviously correct MS. reading "*de nuptiis habito certamine a Minerva*". Clearly *certamine* dropped out of the text on account of the resemblance (or rather identity) between the final *amine* of *certamine* and the following *a Mine*. But the correct reading ("*de nuptiis habito certamine*") is retained in some manuscripts.

in the same story ; the original heroine, Nerio, having been supplanted by the later Minerva ".[1] Varro also coupled Minerva and Nerienes, which Aulus Gellius tells us was a vocative form of Nerio, though in the old books the nominative of the name was Nerio.[2] Now from the work of Joannes Lydus on the Roman calendar we know that on the twenty-third of March there was celebrated a festival of Mars and Nerine, and that Nerine was no other than Nerio is put beyond a doubt by the explanation of the author, who says that Nerine was the Sabine name of a goddess whom people identified with Athena (Minerva) or Aphrodite (Venus), " for Nerine is manliness and the Sabines call manly men Nerones ".[3] This ceremony in honour of Mars and Nerine (Nerio) on the twenty-third of March is in all probability the " contest concerning marriage " in the month of March which is mentioned by Porphyrion ; and taken in conjunction with the present passage of Ovid we may conclude that it represented a marriage of Mars to Nerio, in which the god was beguiled by the substitution of a withered hag for a young and blooming bride. From a variety of indications H. Usener ingeniously argued that the marriage of Mars and Nerio was annually celebrated at Rome in March, Nerio representing the young wife of Mars in the New Year, which formerly began in March, while Anna represented the old wife of the god in the Old Year which had just run its course.[4]

My learned and amiable friend, the late Mr. W. Warde Fowler, whose opinion on all questions of Roman religion was entitled to be received with the greatest respect, rejected the marriage of Mars and Nerio, together with the marriage of all the genuine old Roman gods, believing that the view of their conjugal relations was a later interpretation created by the influence of Greek mythology, in which the marriage of

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 60.

[2] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 4, " *Est enim rectus casus vocabuli, sicut in libris veterum scriptum est, Nerio, quamquam M. Varro in Satura Menippea, quae inscribitur* Σκιομαχία, *non Nerio, sed Nerienes vocative dicit in his versibus :*

Te Anna ac Peranna, Panda Cela, te Pales,
Nerienes et Minerva, Fortuna ac Ceres ".

[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 60, p. 113 ed. Wuensch.

[4] H. Usener, " Italische Mythen ", *Kleine Schriften*, iv. 135-141.

the deities was a commonplace.[1] But in arriving at this conclusion he was obliged to set aside a considerable body of ancient evidence to the contrary, including the direct and explicit testimony of the greatest of Roman antiquaries, Varro himself, who, as quoted by St. Augustine, declared that "in the matter of the generations of the gods the peoples lean to the opinion of the poets rather than to that of natural philosophers; and therefore his ancestors, that is, the old Romans, believed in the sex and generations of the gods and established their marriages".[2] For my part I think it safer to accept than to reject the testimony of the ancients on a point concerning which they were necessarily much better informed than we are.

III. 689. **Thither they escorted Anna, like a bride, with a veil upon her face. When he would have kissed her, Mars suddenly perceived Anna.**—This incident in the loves of Mars and Minerva (or rather of Nerio) strikingly resembles a widespread practice which is known to students of folk-lore by the name of "the False Bride". "It is a common custom among Slavonic, Teutonic, and Romance peoples, as also among the Esthonians, that when the bridegroom or his representative comes to fetch the bride from her home, a false bride is substituted for the real one, another woman, frequently an ugly old one, or a little girl, or even a man being palmed off on him as the bride. In Brittany the substitutes are first a little girl, then the mistress of the house, and lastly the grandmother. In the Samerberg district of Bavaria a bearded man in woman's clothes personates the bride; in Esthonia, the bride's brother or some other young man. Sometimes the substitution takes place already at the betrothal, and sometimes only at the wedding-feast. The custom is not

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 59-62; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 148-154. The marriage of the Roman gods has been also denied by E. Aust (*Die Religion der Römer*, Münster i. W., 1899, pp. 19 *sq.*) and G. Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 26 *sq.*). On the other hand the evidence for the marriage has been clearly and concisely stated by L. Preller in his *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 55-57. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 230-236.

[2] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 32, "*Dicit* (*Varro*) *etiam de generationibus deorum magis ad poetas quam ad physicos fuisse populos inclinatos; et ideo et sexum et generationes deorum maiores suos, id est, veteres credidisse Romanos, et eorum constituisse coniugia*".

restricted to Europe. Among the Beni-Amer in North-East Africa, when women with a camel are sent to fetch the bride, her people often substitute a false bride for the true one, and it is only when the procession is well outside the village that the substitute reveals herself and runs back laughing." [1]

The first to illustrate the present passage of Ovid by this marriage custom was H. Usener in the learned and acute essay which I have already had repeated occasions to cite.[2] The most probable explanation of the custom seems to be that it is an attempt to protect the bride against the evil eye and evil spirits by substituting a dummy on which they can safely wreak their spite. This explanation is confirmed by a custom said to be observed at marriage in Java. A traveller in that island tells us that "among other apartments we saw the 'family bridal chamber', in which we noticed two painted wooden figures, one of a man and the other of a woman, standing at the foot of the 'family nuptial couch'. These figures, as we were told, are called Lorobonyhoyo, or the youth and maiden, and are placed there to cheat the devil, who, according to their belief, during the wedding-night hovers round the bed, with the view of carrying off one of the happy pair. These figures, however, are their protection, for, deceived by their resemblance, he carries them off instead of the sleeping lovers." [3] In harmony with this view the

[1] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, Fifth Edition (London, 1921), ii. 521 *sq.* For more detailed evidence of the custom see Ida von Düringsfeld und Otto Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld *Hochzeitsbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 53 (Roumania), 113 (Switzerland), 126 (Samerberg, Bavaria), 150, 151 (Switzerland), 179, 183, 190 *sq.* (Bohemia), 246 (Brittany); A. de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes et Traditions des Provinces de France* (Paris and Lyons, 1846), p. 135 (Landes, in France); P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903–1906), i. 245 *sq.*, 256 (Silesia); Alois John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen* (Prague, 1905), pp. 127 *sq.*, 133, 135, 137, 138, 141, 151 *sq.*, 157 (Western Bohemia); I. V. Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*[2] (Innsbruck, 1871), p. 15 (the Tyrol); L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 68-72 (Esthonia, etc.); P. Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch* (Leipzig, 1910–1914), i. 75 (with the references); E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911), pp. 98 *sqq.*; E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, New Edition revised by Theodore Besterman (London, 1927), ii. 51 *sq.* The authority for the Beni-Amer custom is W. Munziger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (Schaffhausen, 1864), p. 324. Most of these authorities and others are cited by Westermarck (*l.c.*).

[2] H. Usener, "Italische Mythen", *Kleine Schriften*, iv. 94 *sqq.*

[3] W. B. d'Almeida, *Life in Java* (London, 1864), ii. 160 *sq.* See further E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*[5], ii. 523 *sqq.*

Germans of Western Bohemia, in whose marriage customs the False Bride figures prominently, believe that the "Old Bride" will carry away the bad luck from the true bride out of the house.[1]

III. 697. **the swords that stabbed the prince.**—Ovid refers to the murder of Julius Caesar, which took place on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. He fell pierced with three and twenty wounds, inflicted by the daggers of the assassins, at the foot of Pompey's statue, the pedestal of which was splashed with his blood. It is said that, before he drew his dagger, Cassius looked towards the statue and silently prayed for Pompey's help in the bloody business.[2]

III. 699. **he was my priest.**—In 63 B.C. Julius Caesar was elected to the office of Pontifex Maximus,[3] which, as we have seen, was in close relation to the Vestals and the worship of Vesta.[4]

III. 704. **in the great Forum he owns a temple dedicated to him.**—When the crowd saw the mangled body of Caesar carried through the Forum, their indignation could no longer be restrained; they stopped the funeral procession, and collecting benches, tables, and fences from the neighbourhood, they piled them round the body and burned it in front of the Rostra, near the Regia or King's House.[5] On the spot where the body was burned an altar was erected,[6] and a column of Numidian marble twenty feet high was set up, bearing the inscription *Parenti Patriae*, "To the Father of his Country". At the foot of this column the people long continued to offer sacrifices, to make their vows, and to settle disputes by an oath in the name of Caesar.[7] However, the accursed column, as Cicero calls it, was thrown down by Dolabella;[8] and the exploit

[1] Alois John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen*, pp. 127 *sq.*

[2] Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 66; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 82; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 16. 117; Dio Cassius, xliv. 19.

[3] Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 37. 2; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 13; Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 7.

[4] See above, note on *Fasti*, iii. 419; compare *Fasti*, v. 573 with the note.

[5] Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 68; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 84; Livy, *Per.* cxvi; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 20. 148.

[6] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 20. 148, iii. 1. 2.

[7] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 85.

[8] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, xiv. 15. 1, *Philipp.* i. 2. 5; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 15.

threw the orator into ecstasies of delight; he declared that his dear friend the assassin Brutus, who had gone in fear of his life ever since the perpetration of the murder, could now carry a golden crown through the Forum and nobody would dare to lay a finger on him.[1] But in 42 B.C. the triumvirs (Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus) caused the foundations of a shrine (*heroum*) of Julius Caesar to be laid on the spot in the Forum where his body had been burned; and they decreed that the shrine should enjoy the right of sanctuary, so that none who should take refuge at it might be molested.[2] However, the shrine, or rather temple, was not dedicated until 29 B.C.,[3] when Augustus was firmly established on the throne. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* the Emperor takes all the credit to himself for the erection of the temple (*aedes*), as he calls it.[4] However, the building seems to have been finished some years earlier, for it is figured on coins of Augustus, or rather of Octavian, dating from 33 B.C. The temple is identified by the inscription *Divo Iul.*, "To the divine Julius", on the architrave; within it is a statue of Caesar, and outside of it is an altar.[5] The temple was dedicated on the eighteenth of August,[6] 29 B.C.[7] The dedication was celebrated by games which lasted many days. Noble youths rode on horseback in the game called Troy: gladiators fought in crowds, Swabians from beyond the Rhine being matched against Dacians from the Danube: beasts wild and tame were slaughtered in vast numbers, among them a hippopotamus and a rhinoceros, animals then seen at Rome for the first time. The Senators gave banquets in the vestibules of their houses.[8]

The temple was built in the style called *pycnostyle*, the columns being placed so close together that each was separated from its neighbour by an interval equal only to the breadth of a column and a half.[9] Of the temple nothing remains but the concrete core of the substructure and some marble fragments of the architecture; yet from these ruins

[1] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, xiv. 16. 2.
[2] Dio Cassius, xlvii. 18 and 19.
[3] Dio Cassius, li. 22.
[4] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 2, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl.[4]
[5] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 59.
[6] Note in the Antian calendar, *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 248, 325.
[7] Dio Cassius, li. 22.
[8] Dio Cassius, li. 22.
[9] Vitruvius, iii. 2. 2.

the form of the temple can be fairly well made out. The plan was singular, indeed unique. In front of it was a massive platform about twelve feet high, with two staircases leading up to it, one at each end of the platform. In the front of the platform, midway between the two staircases, there is a semicircular niche, of which a considerable part of the peperino wall has been preserved. At a late date a rude wall of tufa was built across this niche; its removal towards the end of 1898 revealed a portion of the concrete core of a round altar standing on the travertine slabs which formed the pavement of the Forum when the temple was built. We may suppose that this is the original altar built on the very spot where Caesar's body was burnt, and that when the temple was built the sacred monument was preserved in the niche of the platform. The platform with its niche seems to have been known as the Julian Rostra [1] or more exactly as the Rostra of the temple of the Divine Julius,[2] to distinguish it from the ancient Rostra in the Forum. The funeral orations in honour of Augustus were pronounced both from the ancient Rostra and from the Rostra in front of the temple of Julius Caesar; Tiberius spoke from the latter, and Drusus spoke from the former.[3] The name Rostra applied to the platform was appropriate, for to the front of it were fastened the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships captured at the battle of Actium.[4] The temple itself stood on the south-east side of the platform and at a higher level; it was reached by a flight of steps leading up to the portico. Apparently it was of the Ionic order and hexastyle, that is, with six columns in front. The *cella* or interior of the temple was shallow, being only about 20 feet deep by 56 feet wide. The architectural fragments which survive are of poor workmanship and are supposed to date from a restoration carried out in the reign of Severus.[5] The temple is figured on

[1] Dio Cassius, lvi. 34. 4. [2] Frontinus, *De aquis*, ii. 129.
[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 100. 3; Dio Cassius, lvi. 34. 4.
[4] Dio Cassius, li. 19. 2.
[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 406-409; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 285-288 (according to whom the temple was probably of the Corinthian order); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 92-94 (with a fine restoration); Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*[2], pp. 156-159; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6], pp. 153-156, 270-273; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 183-186; K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*[15], pp. 296 *sq.*

coins of Hadrian, on which the Emperor is seen addressing an assembly from the Rostra in front of the temple ; the beaks of the ships are represented on the face of the platform.[1] Elsewhere Ovid repeatedly refers to the lofty temple of Julius Caesar, which from its elevated situation commanded a prospect of the Forum, the Capitol, and the neighbouring temple of the divine brethren, Castor and Pollux.[2]

III. 705. **But all the daring sinners who, in defiance of the god's will, profaned the pontiff's head, lie low in death.**— Similarly Suetonius observes that of Caesar's assassins " hardly one survived him for more than three years or died a natural death. All were doomed and perished, one in one way and another in another, some by shipwreck, others in battle ; some slew themselves with the very dagger with which they had stabbed Caesar." [3] Appian says that not one of those who had conspired against Caesar escaped ; all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son (Augustus).[4] And Plutarch remarks that " the same guardian angel which had attended Caesar all his life followed him after death, to avenge his murder, chasing his murderers over every land and sea and tracking them down, till not one of them was left, punishing every one that had had any hand or part in the business ".[5]

III. 711. **When the next dawn shall have refreshed the tender grass, the Scorpion will be visible in his first part.**— Ovid seems to say that the constellation of the Scorpion rises at morning on the sixteenth of March (the day after the Ides). But if that was his meaning, he was in error, for in fact the morning rising of the Scorpion takes place at quite a different time of the year. If we could suppose that he meant the morning setting of the constellation, he would be in close agreement with Columella and Pliny ; for Columella says that the Scorpion begins to set on the fifteenth of March (the Ides) and actually sets on the sixteenth of March,[6] and Pliny tells us that Caesar believed the Ides of

[1] Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*[2], p. 156. fig. 84.

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 841 *sq.*, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 2. 83 *sq.*

[3] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 89. After the battle of Philippi Cassius stabbed himself with the same dagger with which he had stabbed Caesar. See Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 69. 3.

[4] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 21. 154.

[5] Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 69. 1.

[6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 30 *sq.*

March to be fatal to him because the Scorpion set on that day.[1] But even if we suppose that Ovid here refers to the morning setting of the Scorpion, his statement and that of Pliny (or rather of Caesar) would still be far from accurate; for in the poet's time the true morning setting of the constellation fell on the twenty-sixth of April and the apparent setting not till the thirteenth of May. To explain the discrepancy Ideler supposed that Caesar, and with him Ovid and Columella, followed Greek authorities of an earlier date. Now according to the calendar of Geminus, the first stars of the Scorpion began to set in the time of Euctemon (the fifth century B.C.) on the twenty-ninth day of the sign of the Fishes,[2] which in Euctemon's time and at his latitude corresponded to the twenty-fifth of March; and this statement is astronomically correct, for in fact the first star (γ) of the Scorpion reached the western horizon at sunrise on that day. Thus Caesar's dating of the setting of the Scorpion on the fifteenth of March differed only by ten days from the date assigned to it by Euctemon some four centuries earlier.[3]

III. 713. **The third day after the Ides is a very popular celebration of Bacchus.**—The Romans identified the Greek god Bacchus (Dionysus) with the genuine old Italian god Liber,[4] whose festival, the Liberalia, fell on the seventeenth of March, as we learn from the present passage of Ovid and the ancient calendars.[5] On this day old women, acting as priestesses of Liber, sat crowned with ivy all about the city; in front of them they had cakes and a brazier (*foculus*), on which they offered sacrifice for anybody who bought their cakes.[6] Ovid notices the custom and attempts to explain it (lines 725 *sqq.*). Varro tells us that in the books of the Salii Agonenses the day of the Liberalia was called Agonia;[7]

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 237.

[2] Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae*, p. 228 ed. C. Manitius.

[3] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 159 *sq.*

[4] See *Fasti*, i. 403, with the note; iii. 512, with the note.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 312. It is recorded as *Lib(eralia) Agon(ia)* in the Caeretan and Vatican calendars; as *Liber(alia)* in the Maffeian, Farnesian, and Rustic calendars; there is a note *Libero Liber(ae)* in the Caeretan calendar; a note *Libero in Ca(pitolio)* in the Farnesian calendar; and a note *Liberalici; c(ircenses) m(issus)* xxiv in the calendar of Philocalus.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 14.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 14.

and Masurius, quoted by Macrobius, says that by the pontiffs the day of the Liberalia was named the *Agonium Martiale*.[1] In the Caeretan and Vatican calendars the seventeenth of March is marked both Liberalia and Agonia.[2] As the Salii were priests of Mars and had nothing to do with Liber or Bacchus, we may suppose with Wissowa that the occurrence of the Liberalia and the Agonia on March 17 was a mere coincidence, the festivals having no connexion with each other, and that if the day was oftener known by the name of the Liberalia than by that of the Agonia, the reason was simply a wish to avoid confusion, since three other days in the calendar (January 9, May 21, and December 11) bore the name Agonia.[3]

From a note in the Caeretan calendar we learn that the Liberalia was celebrated in honour both of Liber and of his female counterpart Libera.[4] We have seen that on the testimony of Augustine, whose source appears to have been Varro, Liber presided over the seed of men and Libera over the seed of women.[5] This conception found a crude expression in ritual, if we may trust the evidence of Augustine, whose authority again seems to have been Varro. He says that at the cross-roads of Italy the rites of Liber were celebrated with shameful licence, and that the male organ of generation was publicly worshipped, images of it being set up in waggons and carted through the roads with every mark of honour. At first the custom was confined to the country, but afterwards it had invaded the city. In Lavinium, one of the most ancient religious centres of Latium, a whole month was devoted to the worship of Liber, and during its continuance every one employed the foulest language, until an image of the male organ was carried through the forum and set up in its place ; and there a virtuous matron was obliged to lay a wreath on the obscene image. This rite, says Augustine, was intended to propitiate Liber for the sake of

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 4. 15.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 212, 242, 312. In the Vatican calendar the original entry LIB is now represented only by the final B.

[3] G. Wissowa, " De feriis anni Romani vetustissimi ", *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 168 *sq.* ; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, p. 298 note^7.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 212, 312.

[5] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 512, above, p. 109.

the crops and to repel witchcraft from the fields.[1] The explanation is no doubt correct, for at an early stage of culture man confuses the processes of human and vegetable reproduction, and imagines that he can quicken the growth of the crops by the intercourse of the human sexes.[2] This gross ritual was probably characteristic of the worship of Liber in Italy long before learned men identified the native Italian god with the Greek Bacchus;[3] but the identification was doubtless facilitated, if not originally suggested, by the similarity of the coarse symbols of fertility employed in both religions. On like grounds Herodotus identified Dionysus (Bacchus) with Osiris.[4]

III. 715. **I shall not tell of Semele.**—Ovid has already referred to the birth of Bacchus in the lightning-kindled fire which consumed his mother Semele.[5] In this and what follows Ovid assumes the identity of Liber with Bacchus, and consequently draws freely on Greek mythology.

III. 719. **It were long to relate the triumphs won by the god over the Sithonians and the Scythians.**—The Sithonians were a people of Southern Macedonia.[6] Horace says that Evius, by whom in poetical language he means Bacchus, was heavy on them when they could not distinguish between right and wrong.[7] No doubt the poet refers to their habit of drinking themselves drunk and brawling over their cups. Their neighbours the Thracians and Edonians were notorious for their habits of intoxication and tipsy quarrels.[8] The triumphs of Bacchus here mentioned by Ovid are probably the effects of wine and other strong liquors on the temper and passions of northern barbarians. In his day the Scythians had apparently also been vanquished by Bacchus, in other words, had taken to boozing; but at an earlier time, according to Herodotus, they actually reproached the Greeks with

[1] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 21, "*Sic videlicet Liber deus placandus fuerat pro eventibus seminum, sic ab agris fascinatio repellenda*".

[2] Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 97 *sq.*

[3] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 299.

[4] Herodotus, ii. 48.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 503 *sq.*, with the note.

[6] Herodotus, vii. 123; Strabo, vii. p. 329, frag. 11 (p. 456 ed. Meineke).

[7] Horace, *Odes*, i. 18. 9-11.

[8] Horace, *Odes*, i. 27. 1 *sq.*, i. 36. 14, ii. 7. 26 *sq.*

their Bacchic orgies, affirming that there was no sense in inventing a god who goaded men into madness.[1]

III. 720. **and how he subdued the peoples of India, that incense-bearing land.**—Ovid has already alluded to Bacchus's alleged invasion and conquest of India.[2] The poet erred in thinking that frankincense (*tus*) came from India. More correctly Pliny says that incense grew nowhere but in Arabia, and not even in all parts of Arabia.[3] At present Aden is the great port for the collection and export of frankincense.[4]

III. 721. **I will say naught of him who fell a prey to his own Theban mother.**—Pentheus, king of Thebes, who disbelieved in the divinity of Bacchus, is said to have been torn to pieces by his mother Agave and the other Bacchantes in their orgiastic frenzy.[5]

III. 722. **nor of Lycurgus, whom frenzy drove to hack at his own knee.**—Lycurgus, king of the Edonians, a Thracian people, is said to have insulted Bacchus (Dionysus) and expelled him from his country. In revenge Bacchus drove him mad ; and in his frenzy the king killed his own son Dryas with an axe, mistaking him for a vine-branch, and after that he lopped off his own extremities, which sobered him. But as the land remained barren, an oracle declared that the king must be put to death ; so his people led him to Mount Pangaeum, where he was killed by horses, for such was the will of Dionysus.[6] According to Homer, the impious king was blinded by Zeus and did not live long afterwards, for he was hated by all the gods.[7] Sophocles says that Dionysus chained up the king in a cave, where the fever of his brain subsided and the sceptic acknowledged his sin.[8] In the legend of Lycurgus we seem to have a reminiscence of one of those divine or magical kings who are deemed responsible for the course of nature and are punished

[1] Herodotus, iv. 79.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 465 *sq.*, with the note.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 51.
[4] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. vii. (London and Edinburgh, 1926) p. 596, *s.v.* " Olibanum ".
[5] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1051 *sqq.* ; Apollodorus, iii. 5. 2 ; Pausanias, ii. 2. 7 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 701 *sqq.*
[6] Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1, with my note ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 132 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 14.
[7] Homer, *Il.* vi. 130-140.
[8] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 954 *sqq.*

or put to death by their subjects when the seasons are bad.[1]

III. 723. **Lo now, I should love to speak of the Tyrrhenian monsters, men suddenly transformed into fish.**—Dionysus is said to have been captured by Tyrrhenian pirates, or to have hired them to convey him to Naxos. On the voyage they attempted to bind or otherwise ill-treat him; but he drove them mad, they leaped overboard, and were turned into dolphins.[2]

III. 731. **Thou wert the first to offer cinnamon and incense from the conquered lands.**—According to Pliny, cinnamon grew in Ethiopia and was transported by the natives in ships to Ocilia, the port of the Gebhanites. He says that in the country where it grew the tree might not be cut without the permission of the god, which could only be obtained by the sacrifice of forty-four oxen, goats, and rams; and even when the sanction of the deity had been accorded, an axe or a knife might not be laid to the sacred tree before sunrise or after sunset. A priest severed the twigs with a spear and devoted a part to the god; the rest was consigned to the merchants, who packed it in lumps for transport. Vespasian was the first to dedicate crowns of cinnamon and gold in the temple of Peace and the temple (presumably of Jupiter) on the Capitol. Pliny himself had seen a heavy root of cinnamon in the temple of Augustus on the Palatine.[3]

III. 732. **and the roast flesh of oxen led in triumph.**—Ovid here attributes to Bacchus the institution of the practice of sacrificing oxen at a triumph; for the god was thought to have celebrated a triumph for his Indian victories.[4] In the first book our author has discussed the origin of animal sacrifice in general.[5]

III. 733. **Libations (*libamina*) derive their name from their author, and so do cakes (*liba*).**—Ovid absurdly derives the words *libamina* ("libations") and *liba* ("cakes") from Liber, the name of the god, and hence credits the deity with

[1] Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i. pp. 366 *sqq.*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. p. 98.

[2] *Homeric Hymns*, VII. *To Dionysus*; Apollodorus, iii. 5. 3; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 597-691; Hyginus, *Fab.* 134; *id.*, *Astronomica*, ii. 17.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 86-94.

[4] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 465.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 337 *sqq.*

the invention of both. Plutarch, on the contrary, suggested that the name of the god might be derived from the word for libation.[1] Varro derived *liba* from *libare*, "to offer a libation".[2]

III. 736. **they say that honey was discovered by Bacchus.**—In ascribing the discovery of honey to Bacchus the poet implicitly acknowledges its great antiquity. The use of honey is familiar to savages, even when they do not obtain it from bees. In Central Australia honey is collected by a species of ants in their burrows, and the natives dig it up. In the Arunta tribe there is a clan which has the honey-ant for its totem, and the members perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the insects and the increase of honey. At one of these ceremonies the body, arms, and neck of the principal performer are decorated so as to represent the chambers in the ants' nests and the passages leading to them. In parts of the scrub, where the honey-ants live, acre after acre of hard sandy soil is seen to have been dug up by the picks of the women in search of the insect.[3]

III. 739. **he was going from sandy Hebrus and had come to Rhodope and flowery Pangaeum.**—The Hebrus was the great river of Thrace, and Rhodope and Pangaeum were two of its mountains. The whole country was supposed to be haunted by Bacchus and traversed by the wild Bacchanal rout. Horace has drawn a wonderful picture of a sleepless Bacchanal on a mountain gazing in rapt wonder on the wintry landscape, with the Hebrus and Rhodope and Thrace all white with snow seen afar off.[4] There were mines of gold and silver in Mt. Pangaeum.[5] The gold mines were said to have been discovered by the Phoenician Cadmus,[6] which may mean that they were first worked by the Phoenicians.

III. 741. **Lo, drawn by the tinkle, winged things, as yet unknown, assemble, and the bees follow the sounding brass.**—Some of the ancients believed that bees were attracted by the

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 104. [2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 44.
[3] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta* (London, 1927), i. 23, 159-162.
[4] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 25. 8-12.
[5] Strabo, vii. p. 331, frag. 34 (p. 464 ed. Meineke).
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 197.

tinkle of brass, and accordingly the sound of brazen instruments was employed to collect a scattered swarm.[1] On this subject an English writer observes: "The tinkling after them with a warming-pan, frying-pan, kettle, is of good use to let the neighbours know you have a swarm in the air, which you claim wherever it lights; but I believe of very little purpose to the reclaiming of the bees, who are thought to delight in no noise but their own."[2] But it seems very doubtful whether bees possess the sense of hearing at all. Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) made many experiments on the supposed auditory powers of bees, wasps, and ants, but the results of his experiments were entirely negative. He says: "I have never succeeded in satisfying myself that my ants, bees, or wasps heard any of the sounds with which I tried them. I have over and over again tested them with the loudest and shrillest noises I could make, using a penny pipe, a dog-whistle, a violin, as well as the most piercing and startling sounds I could produce with my own voice, but all without effect."[3] Aristotle himself doubted whether the bees heard the noise which beekeepers made to attract them by chinking pebbles on potsherds.[4]

III. 745. **Once the satyrs and the bald-pated ancient.**— The "bald-pated ancient" is Silenus, the merry companion of the satyrs, the clown or pantaloon of Greek mythology, whose escapades furnished the theme of many jests. Ovid has already told how the braying of the ass on which Silenus rode betrayed the attempt of Priapus to surprise the nymph Lotis.[5] Lucian describes Silenus as an old fat man, with a protruding belly, flat nose, big ears, rather shaky, sometimes walking with a stick but oftener riding an ass, and clad in a saffron gown.[6]

III. 761. **The father god enjoys honey.** — The "father

[1] Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, ix. 40, p. 627 a 15 *sqq.* ed. Bekker; Varro, *De re rustica*, iii. 16. 7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi. 68; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 64-66; *Geoponica*, xv. 3; Lucan, ix. 284-292.

[2] Tusser, *Redivivus*, 1744, p. 62, quoted by J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1882–1883), iii. 225.

[3] Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury), *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*[3] (London, 1882), pp. 221 *sq.*, compare p. 290.

[4] Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, ix. 40, p. 627 a 15 *sqq.* ed. Bekker.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 433 *sqq.*; compare vi. 339 *sqq.*

[6] Lucian, *Bacchus*, 2. Lucian does not name him, but the description is unmistakable, and Silenus is named later on in the piece (ch. 4).

god" is here Liber, who, like many other Roman gods, was accorded the title of Father (*pater*). Lucilius ridiculed the liberality with which the title was bestowed on the deities, among whom he enumerated Liber, Neptune, Saturn, Mars, Janus, and Quirinus.[1] Servius observes that while Father was a title common to all the gods, it was peculiarly appropriate to Liber, to whose name it was always attached.[2] The statement is confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions, in which the title *Liber pater* commonly occurs.[3]

III. 767. **Why is she wreathed with ivy? Ivy is most dear to Bacchus.**—Ivy was said to have grown first at Acharnae in Attica; hence Dionysus bore the surname of Ivy at that town.[4] At Phigalia in Arcadia there was a temple of Dionysus in which the lower part of the image of the deity was hidden in laurel leaves and ivy.[5] Lucian describes the Bacchanals wreathed with ivy and carrying little spears made of ivy-wood.[6]

III. 769. **They say that when the stepmother was searching for the boy, the nymphs of Nysa screened the cradle in leaves.**—The stepmother of Bacchus (Dionysus) was Hera (Juno), who, jealous of her husband's bastard child, sought to destroy him. In order to save the infant god from her, Zeus, his father, is said to have turned him into a kid and afterwards entrusted him to the nymphs who dwelt at Nysa in Asia.[7] The nymphs hid him in their cave and fed him on milk.[8] There was much difference of opinion in antiquity as to where Nysa was. Herodotus thought that it was in Ethiopia;[9] according to Diodorus Siculus, the place Nysa, where the nymphs reared Dionysus, was in Arabia, but he admitted that others placed it in Libya, away in the west, beside the great ocean.[10] Probably Nysa was mythical, invented perhaps to explain the name Dionysus.[11]

[1] Lucilius, quoted by Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* iv. 3.
[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 4.
[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 1700, 1989, 2299, 3092, 3354 ("*Leiberi patrus*", in Dalmatia), 3355, 3356, 3360, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3374, 3380, 3381, 3382, 4399, 5460, 7276, 9242.
[4] Pausanias, i. 31. 6.
[5] Pausanias, viii. 39. 6.
[6] Lucian, *Bacchus*, 1.
[7] Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3.
[8] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 313-315.
[9] Herodotus, ii. 146, iii. 97.
[10] Diodorus Siculus, iii. 59. 2, iii. 64. 5, iii. 65. 7, iii. 66. 3 and 4, iii 67. 5.
[11] Compare my note on Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3.

III. 771. **It remains for me to discover why the gown of liberty is given to boys, fair Bacchus, on thy day.**—On reaching manhood a Roman boy doffed the purple-edged gown (*toga praetexta*) and the golden locket (*bulla*), the garb and ornament of boyhood, and assumed the gown of liberty (*toga libera*) in the presence of the images of the Lares, the domestic gods.[1] From Cicero as well as Ovid we gather that the ceremony usually took place at the festival of the Liberalia on the seventeenth of March,[2] but this was by no means an invariable rule.[3] The gown of freedom was also known as the man's gown (*toga virilis*)[4] or the pure gown (*toga pura*), because it was pure white, without the purple edge characteristic of boyhood.[5]

III. 777. **or it may be because thou art Liber, the garb of liberty is assumed and a freer (*liberior*) life is entered upon under thine auspices.**—So Plutarch asked, Why do the Romans call Dionysus by the name of Father Liber? And he suggested that it might be because wine *liberates* men's tongues and sets them wagging freely.[6] Similarly to Dionysus himself were applied Greek epithets (*Lysios* and *Lyaios*) which are derived from a verb *lyein*, meaning "to liberate"; and some people interpreted these epithets with reference to the freedom of speech which wine produces in the drinker.[7] Some modern scholars have even supposed that the name of the Italian god Liber is only a Latin translation of the Greek epithets applied to Dionysus,[8] but this is very unlikely.[9]

[1] Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 131 *sq.*; Persius, v. 30-31; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 84. 4; *id.*, *De rhetoribus*, 1; Festus, *s.v.* "Bulla aurea", p. 32 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 6. 16; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 25. 5, *Quaest. Rom.* 101. That the boy's gown was edged with purple appears from the expressions of Persius (i. 30, "*custos mihi purpura*") and Plutarch (*Romulus*, 25. 5, ἐν περιπορφύρῳ). As to the custom see W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7], pp. 421, 422; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*[2], pp. 84 *sq.*, 124 *sq.*

[2] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, vi. 1. 12.

[3] See the evidence collected by J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*[2], p. 124 note [2].

[4] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2. 2; Apuleius, *De magia*, 70 and 73.

[5] Catullus, lxviii. 15 (*vestis pura*); Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, v. 20. 9, vi. 1. 12, ix. 17. 1, ix. 19. 1.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 104.

[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* i. 1. 2.

[8] V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien*[7], p. 73; O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, ii. 209 *sq.*

[9] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 298 *sq.*; *id.*, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2021 *sq. s.v.* "Liber".

III. 781. **when a consul exchanged the bent plough for the rods and axes of office.**—The poet has already alluded to these simple manners of the olden time.[1]

III. 785. **the discoverer of the grape held on his own day those games which he now shares with the torch-bearing goddess.**—The "discoverer of the grape" is Dionysus (Bacchus);[2] the "torch-bearing goddess" is Ceres, or rather her Greek counterpart, Demeter, who is said to have lit torches at the flames of Etna when she was searching for her lost daughter Proserpine in Sicily; she is often represented in ancient art with torches in her hands.[3] Thus Ovid in the present passage unhesitatingly identifies the Italian Liber and Libera with the Greek Bacchus (Dionysus) and Demeter. His statement implies that in his time there were no games held in honour of Liber at the Liberalia on the seventeenth of March, though the poet conjectures that formerly games were held on that day, and that the concourse of country-folk which they attracted to Rome furnished the motive for giving the gown of liberty (*toga libera*) to youths on that day. Further, Ovid expressly tells us that Liber now shared the games with Ceres. Now the games of Ceres took place at the Cerealia on the nineteenth of April.[4] The conjunction of Liber with Ceres at the games is confirmed by Cicero, who speaks of "the most holy games to be celebrated with the greatest care and ceremony in honour of Ceres, Liber, and Libera";[5] and Servius tells us that the games of Ceres and Liber were celebrated at the same time.[6] We know from the calendars of Philocalus and Silvius that on March 17 games were celebrated in their time, that is, in the fourth century A.D., in the Circus Maximus;[7] but this must have been an innovation introduced some time, probably a long time, after Ovid wrote the *Fasti*. In the exordium to his poetical treatise on agriculture and viniculture Virgil couples Ceres and Liber, invoking them as the deities of corn and wine respectively;[8] and Varro does the same for

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 207, with the note.
[2] Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 491-494, with the note.
[4] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 315; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 679 *sq.*, with the note.
[5] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. iv. 14. 36.
[6] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 7.
[7] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 260, 261, 312.
[8] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 7-9.

the same reason in the exordium to his prose treatise on the same subjects.[1] Thus, whatever Liber may have been originally, in the time of Varro, Virgil, and Ovid he was undoubtedly conceived as peculiarly a god of the vine. We can therefore understand why must was offered to him for the preservation of the vines ;[2] why a worshipper should address him as " Father Liber, preserver of the vines " ;[3] and why at the vintage sacrifices should be offered to him and to his female partner, Libera, jointly.[4] But it is possible, and even probable, that this special association of Liber with the vine was a later feature of his worship, due to his identification with Dionysus, and that of old he was rather a god of human and vegetable fertility in general.[5]

III. 791. **there is a procession to the Argei. What the Argei are, will be told in the proper place.**—Ovid fulfils this promise later on in the poem.[6]

III. 793. **The star of the Kite slopes downwards towards the Lycaonian Bear.**—The constellation of the Bear was supposed to be Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, transferred to the sky.[7] According to Caesar's calendar, as reported by Pliny, the Kite was visible in Italy on the eighteenth of March, which differs only by a day from the date assigned to it by Ovid.[8] The eminent astronomer and chronologer Ideler confessed that he did not know what star the Kite was. A commentator on Ovid may be pardoned for sharing the astronomer's ignorance. Ideler conjectured that the star owed its supposititious existence to the blunder of a Roman almanac-maker, who, finding in a Greek calendar the entry : " The kite appears ", which actually occurs in the calendar of Geminus,[9] mistook the appearance of the bird for the rising of a star.[10] This seems likely enough, for

[1] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 1. 5.
[2] Festus, *s.v.* " Sacrima ", p. 423 ed. Lindsay.
[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3356.
[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xii. 17. 4.
[5] Compare G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 299 ; *id.*, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2025 *sq. s.v.* " Liber."
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 621 *sqq.*, with the note.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 155-192, with the note (Vol. II. pp. 317 *sqq.*).
[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 237-238.
[9] Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae*, p. 228 ed. C. Manitius, ἰκτῖνος φαίνεται.
[10] L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin, 1809), pp. 76-78.

on the continent of Europe the kite (*Milvus ictinus*) " is one of the most regular and marked migrants, stretching its wings toward the south in autumn, wintering in Africa, and returning in spring to the land of its birth ".[1] In Greece the appearance of the kite was hailed as a sign of spring ; it gave the signal for sheep-shearing,[2] and the person who saw the bird used to roll on the ground.[3] It would, therefore, be natural that the day in spring when the first kite usually appeared should be noted in the calendar. Now in the calendar of Geminus three different dates are assigned for the appearance of the kite, namely March 9, 14, 22, and for these different dates the authorities cited are the astronomers Eudoxus, Euctemon, and Callippus, respectively.[4] Now nothing can be more natural than that the first appearance of a migratory bird should be noted on different days by different observers, who may have seen the bird in different places and under different conditions ; but it would be odd if the same star should be seen to rise on three different days by three good and nearly contemporary astronomers. In proof of the view that in these observations the Greek astronomers referred to the appearance of a bird and not to the rising of a star, it may be added that in the same calendar of Geminus the appearance of the swallow is similarly noted on two different days, namely February 22 and 24, according to the observations of Euctemon and Eudoxus respectively.[5] But no one, presumably, will accuse these eminent astronomers of mistaking the swallow for a constellation. To clinch the argument Ideler quoted from Ptolemy the statement that according to Eudoxus both the swallow and the kite appear on the twelfth of March.[6] Surely the reference is to the arrival of two birds and not to the rising of two constellations.

[1] Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893–1896), p. 491. Compare D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 68 *sq.*, who prefers to suppose that Ovid refers to the constellation of the Swan (Cygnus). But why the poet should have called the constellation Kite instead of Swan, and told a story to explain the name, is far from obvious.

[2] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 713 *sq.*

[3] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 500 *sq.*, with the note of the scholiast on 501.

[4] Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae*, pp. 228 *sq.* ed. C. Manitius.

[5] Geminus, *op. cit.* pp. 226 *sq.* ed. C. Manitius.

[6] L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 77, referring to Ptolemy's Φάσεις ἀπλανῶν.

III. 795. **If you would know what raised the bird to heaven.**—The following story of the reason why the kite was turned into a star appears to be known only from the present passage of Ovid. But the absence of information on the subject is the less surprising if, as seems probable, the bird never was really elevated to the sky in the form of a constellation.

III. 796. **Saturn had been dethroned by Jupiter. In his wrath he stirred up the strong Titans to take arms.**—According to what we may call the orthodox myth, Saturn, or rather Cronus, was himself the youngest of the Titans. His son, Jupiter, or rather Zeus, and his two brothers, Poseidon (Neptune) and Pluto, made war on their father Saturn and the rest of the Titans, and having vanquished them with the help of the thunderbolts and other weapons which they received from the Cyclopes, they shut them up in Tartarus, while they themselves divided the realm of nature between them, Jupiter ruling in heaven, Neptune (Poseidon) in the sea, and Pluto in the nether world.[1]

III. 805. **Briareus sacrificed him with an axe.**—Briareus was one of three monstrous primaeval beings, the offspring of Sky and Earth. The other two were Cottus and Gyes. Each of them had a hundred hands and fifty heads. But their father Sky hated them and as soon as they were born he hid them away in a secret place of their mother Earth, and would not suffer them to come up into the light. So their mother Earth was straitened by reason of their presence in her body, and she groaned aloud.[2] Ovid apparently regarded Briareus as one of the Titans, but this was a mythological error; the Titans were a later brood. In the ten years' war waged by the Titans against Jupiter (Zeus), the three monsters Briareus, Cottus, and Gyes fought on the side of Jupiter, and when the Titans were conquered and hurled down to Tartarus, the monsters were appointed warders to prevent them escaping from the infernal gaol.[3] And in Homer we read of another good turn which Briareus

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.* 617 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 1-2; compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 113 *sq.*

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 147-160; Apollodorus, i. 1.

[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 617-735; compare Apollodorus, i. 2. 1.

did to Jupiter (Zeus). It seems that at one time the gods in heaven conspired against Jupiter and put him in bonds. But Thetis released him and sent for Briareus, who came and sat him down beside Jupiter; and at sight of him the gods were afraid and made no more attempt to bind their king.[1] Thus it is somewhat surprising to find in Ovid's kite and bull story Briareus represented as the rival and enemy of Jupiter and the gods.

III. 809. **rites are performed in honour of Minerva, which get their name from a group of five days.**—The name of the day (the nineteenth of March) was *Quinquatrus*, which, in the abbreviated form *Quinq*, is marked on that day in the Caeretan, Maffeian, Praenestine, Vatican, and Farnesian calendars; in the Rustic calendars and the calendars of Philocalus and Silvius the name is given in full, but incorrectly, as *Quinquatria*.[2] Ovid thought that the name denoted a period of five days, and that accordingly the festival lasted that time; hence he speaks (line 849) of the *Tubilustrium* or Purification of Trumpets on the twenty-third of March as the last of the five days. But this was a popular error, the source of which has been clearly explained by Varro and Festus. For in fact the name *quinquatrus*, properly speaking, designated only a single day, namely, the fifth day after the Ides; hence, the Ides falling on March 15, the *Quinquatrus* fell on March 19 according to Roman reckoning, which added the day (the 15th), from which the series was counted, to the intervening interval of three days (March 16, 17, and 18). In the calendars of many Italian peoples there were numerals similarly formed to designate other days after the Ides. Thus in the calendar of Tusculum the sixth day after the Ides was called *sexatrus* and the seventh day *septimatrus*; and in the calendar of Falerii the tenth day after the Ides was called *decimatrus*.[3] Even the usually well-informed Livy fell into the common mistake when he spoke of the last day of the Quinquatrus;[4] and Juvenal speaks of the schoolboy fired with ambition of rivalling the eloquence of

[1] Homer, *Il.* i. 401-406.
[2] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 312.
[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 14; Festus, *s.v.* "Quinquatrus", pp. 304, 305, 306 ed. Lindsay.
[4] Livy, xliv. 20. 1, "*Quinquatribus ultimus*".

Demosthenes and Cicero all through the five days of the vacation.[1] Thus the popular mistake as to the name of the day seems to have had the practical effect of extending the school holidays, and apparently the holidays generally, to five days instead of limiting them to one. Hence no doubt schoolboys and many others would have been sorry if the mistake had been rectified.

Another error concerning the day into which Ovid has fallen is that the Quinquatrus was properly a festival of Minerva. In fact it seems to have been originally a festival of Mars, and so it is described in a note in the Vatican calendar.[2] From a note in the Praenestine calendar we learn that on this day the Salii danced in the Comitium in presence of the pontiffs and the cavalry officers (*tribuni celerum*).[3] To this solemn dance Varro alludes when he says that the Salii are bound to dance annually in the Comitium.[4] The ceremony appears to have included, perhaps as its principal feature, a purification of the sacred shields (*ancilia*) which the Salii carried.[5] Corresponding to this purification of the shields on the nineteenth of March was the Purification of Arms (*Armilustrium*) which is marked in the ancient calendars on the nineteenth of October.[6] At this ceremony the performers were again the Salii; they were armed with the sacred shields (*ancilia*), and trumpets were blown.[7] Probably the purification of the arms in March and October were

[1] Juvenal, x. 114-117.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 242, 312 "*Feriae Mar(ti)*".

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 234, 312.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 85.

[5] Charisius, *Ars Grammatica*, p. 81 ed. Keil, "*Quinquatrus, sed non quinquatria. Non enim dictae sunt quinque dies sacrae, sed quod quintus dies Iduum, quas atrus antiqui dicebant; sive a quinquando, id est lustrando, quod eo die arma ancilia lustrari sint solita*".

[6] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 333. It is marked as *arm(ilustrium)* in the Sabine, Maffeian, Amiternine, and Antian calendars, and also in the calendar of the Arval Brethren.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 22 (compare v. 153); Festus, *s.v.* "Armilustrium", p. 17 ed. Lindsay. In these passages Varro and Festus do not mention the date of the performance. Probably their descriptions applied to both the March and the October celebration. Again, neither of these writers mention the Salii in their account of the *Armilustrium*; but that the Salii took part in the October celebration has been inferred with practical certainty from Livy xxxvii. 33. 6-7, compared with Polybius xxi. 13. (10) 11-14, where the duties of the Salii mentioned by the historians must have fallen in the autumn. See J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 437 note [1]; and the note on *Fasti*, iii. 259 *sq.* (above, pp. 61 *sqq.*).

religious ceremonies marking the opening and the close of the campaign for the year; on both occasions the dance of the Salii may have been taken as representing and consecrating the military operations of the whole army.[1]

The reason why March 19 came to be regarded as a festival of Minerva instead of a festival of Mars seems to have been the belief, mentioned by Ovid (line 812), that Minerva was born on that day; and that belief in its turn was probably based on the circumstance that a temple was dedicated to her on that day, as Ovid mentions a little later on (lines 835-838). Festus expressly tells us that the Quinquatrus (March 19) was supposed to be dedicated to Minerva because on that day her temple had been consecrated on the Aventine.[2]

III. 812. **Minerva was born on that day.**—The reason why Minerva was supposed to have been born on the nineteenth of March may have been that, as we have just seen, a temple was dedicated to her on the Aventine on that day. The dedication, with the day and the place, is mentioned both by Festus and in a note of the Praenestine calendar, which can be restored with tolerable certainty.[3] The year of its dedication is unknown, but the temple must have existed in the third century B.C., for in the Second Punic War, when the fortune of war had begun to turn in favour of Rome, the dramatist Livius Andronicus wrote a song which was sung by virgins; and in recognition of this patriotic service the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was granted to scribes and actors as a place where they could meet and dedicate offerings, for Livius was himself not only a playwright but also a player.[4] The temple was restored by Augustus.[5] The year of the restoration is unknown, but from a later reference of Ovid we gather that the restored temple was dedicated on the nineteenth of June.[6] On the Marble Plan

[1] Compare J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 434 *sq.*, 436 *sq.*; Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 312 *sq.*, 333; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 57 *sqq.*, 250 *sq.*

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Quinquatrus", p. 306 ed. Lindsay.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Quinquatrus", p. 306 ed. Lindsay; *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 234, 312, "*Artificum dies ⟨quod Minervae⟩ aedis in Aventino eo die est ⟨dedicata⟩*".

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Scribas", pp. 446, 448, ed. Lindsay. The year in which this happened was 207 B.C. See Livy, xxvii. 37. 7.

[5] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 6, p. 91 ed. Hardy, pp. 24, 26 ed. Diehl⁴.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 728. Compare Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 19, No. 45; A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1906), pp. 301-311.

of the city the temple is represented with columns all round it, six of them at each of the ends and thirteen at each of the two sides.[1] In the calendar of Philocalus the birthday of Minerva is marked on the twenty-first of March.[2]

III. 813. **The second day and three besides are celebrated by the spreading of sand.**—This is another way of signifying that on these four days gladiatorial shows were given for the entertainment of the holiday-makers. Sand was strewn on the arena to mop up the blood.[3] In his poetical autobiography, written in exile, Ovid tells us that he was born on the first of Minerva's five days which was bloody with fighting,[4] by which he means that he was born on the first of the five days on which gladiatorial combats were exhibited. As he has just intimated that no such shows were exhibited on the first of the days, that is, on the nineteenth of March, it follows that he was born on the twentieth of March.

III. 814. **the warlike goddess delights in drawn swords.**—The poet makes this remark to explain why gladiatorial combats took place on Minerva's days. But the attribution of a warlike character to Minerva appears to be merely a consequence of the popular identification of Minerva with the Greek Athena, who was a warrior as well as a patroness of the arts.[5] On the strength of this identification Pompey dedicated some of the spoils of his many wars to Minerva, with a boastful dedication wherein he recapitulated his undoubtedly great military achievements by sea and land, together with the extent of the territory which he had added to the Roman empire.[6] The goddess is styled Victorious in a dedicatory inscription.[7]

[1] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 159 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 416. As to the Marble Plan of Rome see note on *Fasti*, i. 637 (Vol. II. p. 251).

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 260, 313.

[3] Compare Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 14. 8, "*Sternetur pugnae tristis harena tuae*"; *id.*, *Tristia*, ii. 282, "*Martia cum durum sternit harena solum*"; Propertius, v. (iv.) 8. 76, "*Nec cum lascivum sternet harena forum*". These passages strongly support the reading *strata* in the present passage of Ovid as against the alternative reading *rasa*. See the Critical Note.

[4] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 11-14.

[5] Compare G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 254 *sq.* The double character of Athena as a goddess both of war and of the arts is vouched for already by Homer. As to her warlike aspect see *Iliad*, ii. 445-452, v. 331-333, 733-747, 825-863, viii. 384-391; as to her patronage of the arts see *Iliad*, v. 59-61.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 97.

[7] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3131, "*Minervae victrici*".

But in herself Minerva was essentially a pacific and so to say industrial goddess, the patroness of all the peaceful arts and crafts. This fundamental character is well brought out by Ovid in the following passage, in which he enumerates the members of the various trades and professions who ought to pay their devotion to Minerva. More briefly Lactantius says of her that she invented all the arts, and that therefore artisans prayed to her.[1] In the Praenestine calendar the ninteeenth of March is called " the day of the artificers ".[2]

III. 815. **ye boys and tender girls, pray now to Pallas.**—In this and the following lines Ovid uses Pallas, a title of Athena, as equivalent to Minerva. So thoroughly did he assimilate the Latin to the Greek goddess.

III. 817. **let girls learn to card the wool and to unload the full distaffs.**—The Roman poets were fond of describing the graceful art of spinning with the distaff and spindle : the description called up images of domestic virtue and peace.[3] The spinning-wheel was not invented in antiquity, or no doubt its whirring revolutions and droning hum would have furnished materials for many poetical pictures. The Fates would probably have spun the threads of destiny on a wheel instead of on a spindle.

III. 819. **She also teaches how to traverse the upright warp with the shuttle.**—Elsewhere Ovid has described the technical process of weaving more fully in his exquisite picture of the spinning match between Pallas and Arachne (the Spider), and of the gorgeous webs they wove.[4]

III. 821. **Worship her, thou who dost remove stains from damaged garments.**—Ovid is here addressing the fullers. Pliny mentions a picture by an artist called Simus which represented a fuller's shop celebrating the Quinquatrus ;[5] and the comic playwright Novius alluded to a fuller at the Quinquatrus.[6] An inscription recording a votive offering dedicated by fullers to Minerva has been found at Spoletium.[7]

[1] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 18.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 234, 312, "*Artificum dies* ".

[3] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 742 *sqq.*, *Heroides*, iii. 75 *sq.*, xix. 37 *sq.*, *Metamorph.* iv. 34, 220 *sq.*, vi. 17-22 ; Tibullus, i. 3. 85 *sqq.*, ii. 1. 63 *sq.*

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 53 *sqq.*

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 143, "*Officinam fullonis quinquatruus celebrantem*".

[6] Novius, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* " Sapivi ", p. 817 ed. Lindsay.

[7] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3127.

III. 822. **worship her, thou who dost make ready the brazen caldron for the fleeces.**—Ovid is here addressing the dyers. He avoids using the prosaic term *infectores*[1] or *lotores*.[2]

III. 823. **If Pallas frown, no man shall make shoes well, though he were more skilful than Tychius.**—The craft of shoe-making is said to have been invented by a man of Boeotia named Tychius.[3] In Homer we read that Tychius, who dwelt in Hyle, made the shield of Telamonian Ajax; it consisted of seven ox-hides, one over the other, with a sheathing of copper over all. Homer calls Tychius "the best of leather-cutters".[4]

III. 825. **though he were more adroit with his hands than Epeus of old.**—Epeus was said to have made the Wooden Horse by which the Greeks took Troy.[5] According to the rationalistic Pliny, the Wooden Horse which Epeus made was a battering-ram.[6]

III. 827. **Ye, too, who banish sicknesses by Phoebus' art, bring from your earnings a few gifts to the goddess.**—Minerva's patronage of the medical profession is proved by the epithet Physician (*Medica*), which was sometimes applied to her.[7] Under this title she had a temple in Rome, which seems to have stood on the Esquiline and to have existed down to the fourth century A.D., for it is mentioned in the *Curiosum Urbis* and the *Notitia* of that date.[8] However, a sceptic in Cicero's dialogues on divination appears to have been of opinion that medicine prescribed by Minerva without the aid of a human physician would be of very little use.[9] But to give the goddess her due, one inscription records the gratitude of a lady named Coelia Juliana to Minerva for her recovery from a serious illness;[10] and another records the gratitude of another lady

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Infectores", p. 99 ed. Lindsay.
[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3128.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 196.
[4] Homer, *Il.* vii. 219-223.
[5] Homer, *Od.* viii. 492 *sq.*, xi. 523; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 264; Hyginus, *Fab.* 108.
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 202.
[7] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3137, 5229.
[8] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 548, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 352 *sq.* (as to the supposed site of the temple); S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 462, 463.
[9] Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 59. 123.
[10] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3134.

to the goddess for the restoration of her hair.[1] Yet another inscription mentions an offering of silver ears which a man named L. Callidius Primus, of Brixellum, presented to Minerva, presumably for the improvement or recovery of his hearing.[2] Varro appears to have written a satire called *Quinquatrus*, in which he described a company of doctors making holiday on Minerva's day.[3]

III. 829. **And spurn her not, ye schoolmasters, ye tribe too often cheated of your income.**—Horace refers to the brief but pleasant holiday which schoolboys (and therefore schoolmasters) enjoyed at the Quinquatrus.[4] Juvenal speaks of the schoolboy who at the Quinquatrus worshipped Minerva with a single penny,[5] but it seems doubtful whether the penny went into the treasury of the goddess or the pocket of the schoolmaster. The commentators are divided on the question.[6] Macrobius seems to say that schoolmasters received their annual stipend in March ;[7] but on the other hand Tertullian, speaking of the schoolmaster at the Quinquatrus (or Quinquatria, as he calls it), says that he dedicated the first fee (*stips*) of a new pupil to Minerva.[8] This appears to show that the pennies which the schoolmaster collected from his pupils at the Quinquatrus he was expected to hand over to Minerva, which may explain Ovid's allusion to the fraud perpetrated on schoolmasters at this season, if we accept the reading in the text. But if we adopt a different reading the passage may contain an exhortation to schoolmasters not to cheat the goddess of her little earnings. See the Critical Note.

III. 831. **and thou who dost ply the graving tool and paint pictures in encaustic.**—Later on Ovid speaks of a ship painted in encaustic colours.[9] Martial speaks of a picture of

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3135.
[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3136.
[3] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 295 note[1].
[4] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 197 *sq.* [5] Juvenal, x. 114-117.
[6] See J. D. Duff on Juvenal, x. 116, who decides in favour of the goddess.
[7] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 7, "*Hoc mense* (*Martio*) *mercedes exolvebant magistris quas completus annus deberi fecit*".
[8] Tertullian, *De idolatria*, 10, "*Quis ludimagister, sine tabula septem idolorum, quinquatria tamen frequentabit? Ipsam primam novi discipuli stipem Minervae et honori et nomini consecrat*". For more passages on the subject see G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2986, *s.v.* "Minerva".
[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 275.

Phaethon painted in encaustic colours, and asks the pitiless painter why he should burn the hapless Phaethon a second time.[1] Pliny says that of old there were two ways of painting in encaustic, one on wax and another on ivory, but that when ships came to be painted it was found necessary to introduce a new process, which made the colours resist the effects of the sun, the wind, and the salt water.[2]

III. 836. **Where the Caelian Mount descends from the height into the plain . . . you may see the small shrine of Minerva Capta.**—"Minerva Capta" can only mean "the Captive Minerva." Of the explanations of the name which Ovid proposes the correct one in all probability is that the image of the goddess was brought to Rome from Falerii when that city was finally conquered by the Romans in 241 B.C.[3] In agreement with Ovid's description of the site Varro says that the shrine of Minerva (*Minervium*) was on the Caelian hill.[4] It is thought to have stood near the site of the Church S.S. Quatro Coronati.[5] From Ovid's statement, which we have no reason to doubt, it appears that the shrine was dedicated on Minerva's birthday, that is, on the nineteenth of March, and therefore on the same day as her temple on the Aventine.[6]

III. 839. **We call ingenuity "capital".**—The Romans seem to have applied the adjective "capital" (*capitalis*) in much the same sense as we do. Cicero speaks of the Syracusan historian Philistus as a "capital" writer, a sort of little Thucydides.[7] In the time of Gallienus a certain general named Regilianus was raised to the Imperial throne through a "capital joke" (*capitalis iocus*) on his name. It happened one day at the regimental mess that the question arose, Why is the general called Regilianus? Some one said, "The name comes from *regnum*, 'a kingdom'". On which a grammarian, who chanced to be present, took up the tale and

[1] Martial, iv. 47.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 149.

[3] Livy, *Per.* xx.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 47, "*Circa Minervium qua in* (*e* Müller) *Caelio monte itur* (*iter* Müller) *in tabernola est*".

[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 226.

[6] Compare Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 17, No. 36; Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 312.

[7] Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, ii. 11 (13). 4.

declined the name thus: *Rex, regis, regi, Regilianus*". The jest caught the fancy of the mess, and when next morning the general appeared at headquarters, he was saluted as Emperor.[1]

III. 841. **Did she get the name of Capta because she is said to have leaped forth motherless from the crown of her father's head?**—Athena is said to have thus sprung full-armed from the head of Zeus (Jupiter)[2]; and here, as usual, Ovid identifies Minerva with Athena. He suggests absurdly that the adjective Capta is derived from *caput*, "a head".

III. 843. **Or because she came to us as a captive at the conquest of Falerii?**—The worship of Minerva at Falerii is attested by a dedication to Menerva (*sic*), which was found engraved on a bronze plate at Falerii.[3]

III. 845. **Or was it because she had a law which ordained capital punishment for thefts proved to have been committed in that place?**—In antiquity every sanctuary had its sacred law, which regulated the procedure of its rites and the penalties for infringement of its privileges. A number of these sacred laws have survived in inscriptions both Latin and Greek, and they are valuable documents for the light they throw on ancient religion, all the more so because their authenticity is unquestionable. Amongst them may be mentioned the sacred law of the temple of Jupiter Liber at Furfo, in the Sabine country, which ordained that the theft of sacred property should be punished by a fine at the discretion of the aedile, who was also to assess the amount.[4] An inscription found at Salona in Dalmatia provides that the sacred laws relating to an altar of Jupiter Best and Greatest (*Optimus Maximus*) shall be the same as the laws relating to the altar of Diana on the Aventine at Rome.[5] Similarly in an inscription relating to an altar of Augustus at Narbo in Gaul it is laid down that certain rules shall be observed, "and that the other laws of this altar shall be the same as those for the altar of Diana on the Aventine".[6] Thus it would appear that the laws of the

[1] Trebellius Pollio, *Tyranni Triginta*, x. 3-7.
[2] Apollodorus, i. 3. 6, with my note.
[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3124.
[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4906.
[5] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4907.
[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 112.

altar of Diana on the Aventine at Rome served as models for the laws of altars in the provinces. Another inscription found near Spoletium in Umbria ordains that no wood should be cut in a certain sacred grove except on the day when the annual sacrifice was offered; and that if anybody unwittingly violated the sanctity of the grove, he was to offer an ox as an expiatory sacrifice to Jupiter, but that if the sacrilege had been committed knowingly, he was in addition to pay a fine of three hundred pence.[1] The sacred laws relating to Greek sanctuaries, which have come down to us, are much more numerous and often much more detailed. They have been collected in two volumes by two German scholars, Messrs. De Prott and Ziehen.[2] Among them may be mentioned a law relating to the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus in Attica;[3] a law relating to the sanctuary of the Mistress at Lycosura in Arcadia;[4] and, most detailed of all, a law relating to the mysteries at Andania in Messenia.[5]

The words of Ovid seem to imply that the shrine of Minerva Capta on the Caelian hill had a sacred law (probably engraved on a tablet) which threatened with capital punishment any one who should steal anything from the holy place. However, it is to be observed that, though the Romans spoke of a "capital crime" (*capitalis noxa*)[6] and "capital punishment" (*capitalis poena*, *capitale supplicium*),[7] the phrases only signified a crime or a punishment which affected the legal status (*caput*) of a person, not necessarily one which involved the penalty of death.[8]

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4911.

[2] J. de Prott, L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae e Titulis collectae* (Lipsiae, 1896–1906). Compare Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], vol. iii. pp. 105 *sqq.*, Nos. 977 *sqq.*

[3] J. de Prott, L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii. No. 65; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 1004; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 698.

[4] J. de Prott, L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii. No. 63; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 999.

[5] J. de Prott, L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii. No. 58; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 736; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 694. Compare L. Ziehen, "Der Mysterienkult von Andania", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxiv. (1926) pp. 29-60.

[6] Livy, iii. 55. 3.

[7] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 48, *Domitianus*, 8. 3.

[8] W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7], pp. 83 *sq.*; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, i. 2, pp. 912 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Caput".

III. 849. **The last day of the five reminds us to purify the melodious trumpets and to sacrifice to the strong goddess.**— The Purification of Trumpets (*tubilustrium*) on the twenty-third of March is mentioned in the Caeretan, Maffeian, Vatican, and Farnesian calendars.[1] In the Praenestine calendar there is a note to the effect that " the day is so called because the trumpets used in sacred rites are purified in the Shoemakers' Hall (*in atrio sutorio*) ".[2] The same explanation of the name is given by Varro, who also mentions the Shoemakers' Hall as the place where the ceremony was performed, and confirms the statement that the trumpets so purified were those which were used in sacred rites.[3] The same derivation of the name, and the same place of purification, are mentioned also by Festus, who adds that the purification was effected by the sacrifice of a ewe lamb, and (if his text is correctly restored) that the rite was derived from Pallantium in Arcadia.[4]

In the Praenestine calendar the twenty-third of March is described as a festival of Mars.[5] Ovid speaks of it as a sacrifice to " the strong goddess ", by whom he means Minerva. Both the annotator of the Praenestine calendar (who was probably the learned Verrius Flaccus) and Ovid were right, as we learn from Joannes Lydus, who expressly affirms that on the twenty-third of March there was a Purification of Trumpets and " a moving of the arms " (that is, a dance of the Salii with their sacred shields), and that on the same day worship was paid to Mars and a goddess called in the Sabine tongue Nerine, who was identified with Athena (Minerva) or Aphrodite (Venus), and whose name, he tells us, meant " strength " or " manliness ", being derived from the same root as the Sabine name Nero, " strong man ".[6] This Nerine, as we have already seen, is the old Sabine goddess Nerio, who was commonly regarded as the wife of Mars.[7] We can, therefore, understand why some people identified her with Aphrodite rather than with Athena, since Aphrodite, not Athena, was the wife of Ares, the Greek counterpart of

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 313.
[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 234, 313.
[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 14.
[4] Festus, *s.v.* " Tubilustria ", pp. 480, 481 ed. Lindsay.
[5] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 234, 313, " (*Feriae*) *Marti* ".
[6] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 60, p. 113 ed. Wuensch.
[7] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 675 (above, pp. 121 *sqq.*).

Mars. And it is possible that by " the strong goddess " in the present passage Ovid means Nerio rather than Minerva.

There was another Purification of Trumpets on the twenty-third of May, which Ovid has noted in its proper place.[1]

With the purification of the sacred trumpets by the sacrifice of a lamb at Rome we may perhaps compare the purification or renovation of sacred drums among the Banyoro or Banyankole of Uganda by the sacrifice of animals or of men. Among these people " the chief use to which a drum is put is some religious purpose or other. A number of them is attached to each temple. They are sounded merely to invigorate the king, and each of these drums has a fetish in it which is made when the king comes to the throne. The fetish in the drum gives it its importance. In outward appearance a sacred drum differs in no respect from others. . . . Over the fetish the blood of some victim is poured ; in the case of royal drums it is the blood of human victims who are decapitated over the drum for the purpose. The chief of these sacred drums is named *Nyakangubi*, and in olden days the blood of three human beings was allowed to run over the fetish when a new king was proclaimed. During the life of the king, should the leather of the drum wear out by beating it, an ox was killed to provide a new skin and the blood of the animal was poured into the drum over the fetish. Several other drums had one human sacrifice killed over them when the king began to reign, and a number of others had blood of oxen poured over them." [2] Similarly among the Baganda when a special drum had a new skin put upon it, " not only was a cow killed for the skin, and its blood run into the drum, but a man was also killed by decapitation, and his blood run into it, so that, when the drum was beaten, it was supposed to add fresh life and vigour to the king from the life of the slain man ".[3]

III. 851. **Now you can look up to the sun and say, " Yesterday he set foot on the fleece of the Phrixean sheep."** —This is a poetical way of saying that yesterday the sun entered the sign of the Ram, where by yesterday Ovid means

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 725 *sq.*

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 87 *sq.* Compare *id.*, *The Banyankole or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 231.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 27 *sq.*

the twenty-second of March. According to Columella, the sun entered the sign of the Ram on the seventeenth of March, and the constellation began to rise on the twenty-third of March.[1] The latter date differs by only a day from the date assigned by Ovid to the passage of the sun into the sign of the Ram (Aries). It seems that in the poet's time the apparent morning rising of the constellation took place on the fifteenth of April and the true morning rising of the constellation on the tenth of March.[2]

The constellation was supposed to be the famous ram with the Golden Fleece which Phrixus and his sister Helle rode. Hence Ovid calls it the Phrixean sheep. The story was in brief this: Athamas, king of Boeotia, had by his first wife Nephele ("the Cloud") a son Phrixus and a daughter Helle. After the death of their mother he married a second wife Ino, who was cruel to her stepchildren and plotted their death. She persuaded the women to parch the seed-corn, so that when it was sown it did not sprout, and the land remained barren. Messengers were sent to Delphi to consult the oracle as to a remedy for the dearth, and Ino bribed them to say that the infertility would cease if Phrixus and Helle were sacrificed to Zeus. So Athamas forced the people to bring the children to the altar. But their dead mother Nephele ("the Cloud") spied them as she was hovering in the air, and she caught them up to her, and gave them the ram with the Golden Fleece. So the brother and sister rode on it through the air and escaped away eastward. But as they were passing over the strait between Europe and Asia, Helle fell from the ram into the sea and was drowned; and ever since the strait has been called the Sea of Helle, that is, the Hellespont. However, her brother Phrixus kept his seat and arrived safely in Colchis on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. There he sacrificed the ram to Zeus in gratitude for his escape, and the Golden Fleece he gave to Aeetes, the king of the country, who nailed it to an oak in a grove of Ares. But Nephele ("the Cloud"), the mother of Phrixus,

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 31, "*XVI Cal. April. Sol in Arietem transitum facit. . . . X Cal. April. Aries incipit exoriri*".

[2] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 150.

set an effigy of the ram in the sky, where it shines as a constellation.[1]

III. 853. **By the guile of a wicked stepmother the seeds had been roasted.**—The "wicked stepmother" is Ino. Ovid alludes to this trick in two other passages of the *Fasti*.[2]

III. 861. **Phrixus and his sister, their brows veiled with fillets, stood together before the altars.**—It is said that an oracle commanded to sacrifice King Athamas himself, the father of Phrixus and Helle, as an expiatory offering for the country, but that at the moment when the sacrifice was about to be consummated, the king was rescued. However, from that time onward the eldest male descendant of the king was liable to be sacrificed, if ever he set foot in the town-hall. Hence the descendants of Athamas fled the country; but any who returned were decked with garlands, led in procession, and sacrificed.[3]

III. 865. **she leaped down into the dragon-begotten city.**—The city is Thebes. It is said that when Cadmus had slain the dragon which guarded a spring on the site where Thebes afterwards stood, he sowed the dragon's teeth, and from the teeth there sprang up armed men, who fought and slew each other, but a few survived.[4] Hence the poet elsewhere calls the Thebans "serpent-born".[5] Ovid clearly supposed that Athamas reigned at Thebes, and that the tragic events of the story took place there. Others thought that Phrixus, the son of Athamas, was born at Orchomenus or in Thessaly.[6] Herodotus tells the legend of Athamas in connexion with Alus in the Thessalian Achaia.[7]

III. 871. **Her brother almost perished with her in attempting to succour her as she fell, and in holding out his hands at the utmost stretch.**—Ovid writes as if he had a picture of the scene before his eyes or in his memory. And such

[1] Apollodorus, i. 9. 1; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 19; Diodorus Siculus, iii. 47. 1; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 20; *id.*, *Fab.* 1-3; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 223, pp. 400 *sq.* ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 628, vi. 556.

[3] Herodotus, vii. 197. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 161-163.

[4] Apollodorus, iii. 4. 1; Pausanias, ix. 12. 1 *sq.*, ix. 19. 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 6 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 531.

[6] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 20.

[7] Herodotus, vii. 197.

a picture has been found in a wall-painting at Pompeii. It represents Phrixus clinging with one hand to the neck of the ram, while he stretches out the other to Helle, who is in the sea and is holding up her hand to grasp his. Phrixus does not bestride the ram, he sits on one side with his feet dangling, and looks as if, in his effort to save his sister, he might share her fate.[1] It is thought that the original of this fine painting may have belonged to a period of Greek art older than the age of Alexander.[2]

III. 878. **When thrice the Morning Star shall have heralded the coming Dawn, you shall reckon the time of day equal to the time of night.**—Thus Ovid dated the vernal equinox on the twenty-sixth of March: Columella and Pliny dated it on the twenty-fifth.[3] According to Callippus, the vernal equinox fell on the twenty-third of March; according to Eudoxus, it fell on the twenty-eighth.[4]

III. 881. **it will be time to adore Janus, and gentle Concord with him, and Roman Safety, and the altar of Peace.**—Under the reign of Augustus it became customary for persons of all ranks to throw a small coin into the Lake of Curtius in the Forum with a prayer for the Safety of the Emperor; and on New Year's Day (the first of January) they brought gifts for him to the Capitol, even when he was absent from Rome. With those gifts Augustus bought costly images of the gods, such as Apollo Sandalarius and Tragedian Jupiter, which he dedicated in the various quarters of the city.[5] In the year 10 B.C. Augustus employed these free-will offerings to purchase or make images of Public Safety (*Salus Publica*), Concord, and Peace.[6] From the present passage of Ovid we may perhaps infer that the three deities were united in a single temple which was dedicated on the thirtieth of March. In that case the altar of Peace here mentioned by Ovid must have stood in that temple and cannot have been the magnificent one which the poet had previously mentioned and of which we possess some beautiful

[1] A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1332, fig. 1486.
[2] W. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 66 *sq.*
[3] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 31; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 246.
[4] Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae*, pp. 228 *sq.* ed. C. Manitius.
[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57. 1. [6] Dio Cassius, liv. 35. 1.

sculptures.[1] Of Janus in this connexion we know nothing beyond the present mention which Ovid makes of him. It has been suggested that the foundation of the united worships was connected with an intention to close the temple of Janus as a symbol of world-wide peace,[2] and the suggestion accords well with the policy of Augustus and with the nature of the three other deities associated with Janus. Indeed, we know from Dio Cassius, who reports the dedication of the statues of Public Safety, Concord, and Peace, that in the same year a decree was passed for closing the temple of Janus on the ground that all the wars were over; but before the gates were shut tidings came that the Dacians had crossed the Danube on the ice and were harrying Pannonia, and that the Dalmatians were in revolt.[3] So the prospect of peace for a war-weary world had again to be deferred. It is also possible, though perhaps less likely, that as the cost of making or purchasing the images was defrayed out of New Year offerings, the Emperor may have thought it decent to associate Janus, the god of the opening year, with the other deities as an acknowledgement of the source from which he drew the funds for the new foundation.

III. 883. **the period of this month also ends with the worship of the Moon on the Aventine Hill.**—The festival of the Moon on the thirty-first of March is mentioned in two ancient calendars, those of Caere and Praeneste, and in the Praenestine calendar the festival is recorded to have been held on the Aventine,[4] which confirms Ovid's statement as to the place of the worship. The mention of the festival in two ancient calendars raises a presumption of the antiquity of the worship of the Moon at Rome, and the presumption is confirmed by what little we know on the subject. According to Tacitus, the temple of the Moon was dedicated by King Servius Tullius and ranked among the most ancient religious monuments of Rome which perished in the great fire of A.D. 64.[5] In 182 B.C. a violent hurricane carried away the door of the temple and dashed it against the back wall

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 709, with the note (Vol. II. pp. 270 *sqq.*).
[2] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* [2], p. 329 note [2].
[3] Dio Cassius, liv. 36. 2.
[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 212, 234, 314.
[5] Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 41.

of the temple of Ceres.[1] Some of the spoils of Corinth were dedicated by the conqueror Mummius in the temple.[2] When Caius Gracchus and his followers were pursued by their enemies, they took refuge on the Aventine, and passing through the temple of the Moon leaped down into an adjoining house; but in leaping Gracchus sprained his ankle.[3] In 84 B.C. the temple of the Moon and the adjoining temple of Ceres were struck by lightning, and in consequence of the portent the augurs postponed the consular elections till after the summer solstice.[4] The two temples appear to have stood together on the northern summit of the hill, but no remains of them have been discovered.[5]

From the Pincian calendar we learn that another festival of the Moon was held on the twenty-fourth of August at the Graecostasis,[6] which was a platform in the Forum where foreign envoys to the Senate had places assigned to them.[7] The festival of the Moon on that day is not otherwise known, and it is all the more remarkable because it was one of the three days of the year on which the pit called the *mundus* was open,[8] and which were consequently deemed unfit for business because on them the gates of the infernal regions were supposed to be unbarred, leaving the spirits of that gloomy realm free to roam the world.[9]

According to Varro and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the worship of the Sun and Moon was introduced into Rome by the Sabine king Titus Tatius, the colleague of Romulus in the kingship;[10] and for this statement Varro appeals to the evidence of the *Annals*, which recorded the dedication

[1] Livy, xl. 2. 1-2, "*Atrox cum vento tempestas coorta . . forem ex aede Lunae, quae in Aventino est, raptam tulit et in posticis parietibus Cereris templi adfixit*".

[2] Vitruvius, v. 5. 8.

[3] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 65; Orosius, v. 12. 6-8.

[4] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 9. 78.

[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 160 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 415; A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 98-99.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 219, 327.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 155.

[8] Festus, *s.v.* "Mundus", p. 126 ed. Lindsay. As to the *mundus* see note on *Fasti*, iv. 821, below, pp. 386 *sqq.*

[9] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 18.

[10] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 74; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 3; compare Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 23.

of altars to the Sun and Moon by Titus Tatius. At the outset of his treatise on agriculture the same learned antiquary announces his intention of invoking twelve gods, " not those urban gods whose gilded images stand in the Forum, six male and as many female, but those twelve gods who are above all the guides of husbandmen ". Accordingly he proceeds to invoke, in the first place, Jupiter and Earth (*Tellus*), and " in the second place the Sun and Moon whose seasons are observed at sowing and harvest ".[1] Varro would hardly have held this language unless the worship of the Sun and Moon had long been familiar to the rural population of Italy, the most conservative class in every country. We need not, therefore, suppose with Wissowa that the worship of the Sun and Moon at Rome was imported from Greece ;[2] had it been so, it would presumably have been practised chiefly, if not exclusively, in the cities, whereas from the testimony of Varro we learn that on the contrary it was especially the religion of the husbandman, who needed no gilded images to remind him of the two great luminaries in the sky on whom he believed his fields and vineyards to be intimately dependent.

[1] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, i. 1. 4-5.

[2] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 315. Compare A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 194 *sq.*

BOOK IV

The Month of April

IV. 1. **" O gracious mother of the Twin Loves ", said I.—** Elsewhere Ovid speaks of Venus as the Mother of the Loves.[1] The Greeks personified the passion of love in two distinct forms as Eros and Anteros, that is, Love and Love Returned. In the gymnasium at Elis there was an altar of Love and Love Returned.[2] In Athens there was an altar of Love at the entrance to the Academy, and in the city itself there was an altar of Love Returned. The latter was said to have been dedicated by resident aliens to expiate a double suicide of lovers, of whom one was an Athenian and the other a resident alien.[3] Lucian distinguished two loves, on the one hand, a vulgar and ignoble Love who dragged his victims to the doors of wanton women, and, on the other hand, a pure and heavenly Love who drew the votaries of divine philosophy, as by a golden chain, to the doors of Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Xenocrates.[4] According to Cicero, the Greeks recognized three Loves or Cupids, one the son of Mercury and Diana, another the son of Mercury and Venus, and a third the son of Mars and Venus ; this third, adds the philosopher, is the same as Anteros.[5] The Julian family claimed to be descended from Venus ; hence one of them, Lucius Julius Caesar, put on some of his coins, which were struck about 90 B.C., an image of Venus in a car drawn by two winged Loves or Cupids.[6]

IV. 3. **surely thou wast wont to sing of loftier themes.—**

[1] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 15. 1, *Heroides*, xvi. 203.
[2] Pausanias, vi. 23. 3.
[3] Pausanias, i. 30. 1.
[4] Lucian, *Demosthenis Encomium*, 12-13 ; *id.*, *Amores*, 37.
[5] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 23. 60.
[6] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 5.

In this and the following lines the poet playfully contrasts the high seriousness of his present subject with the lighter themes handled by him in his early love poems. He has already harped on the same string at the opening of the second book.[1]

IV. 15 **touching my brows lightly with myrtle of Cythera.** —The island of Cythera was peculiarly sacred to Venus (Aphrodite); its beach was said to be the first place where the goddess landed after her birth in the sea, and from it she passed to her other favourite island, the isle of Cyprus.[2] The sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite in Cythera was reckoned the most ancient of all the shrines dedicated to the goddess; she was there represented by a wooden image armed.[3] The type of the armed Aphrodite is believed to be of Phoenician origin, and the view is supported by the tradition that her sanctuary in Cythera was founded by the Phoenicians.[4] According to Herodotus, the most ancient sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite was at Ascalon in Palestine.[5] The Babylonian goddess, Ishtar (Astarte), the prototype of Heavenly Aphrodite, was a goddess of war as well as of love; in her gentler character she was associated with her mortal lover, Tammuz, as Aphrodite with Adonis; in her sterner aspect she was especially worshipped by the warlike Assyrians.[6] The myrtle, like the rose, was sacred to Aphrodite, and both were associated with her love for Adonis;[7] for it is said that the fair youth was born from a myrtle-tree,[8] and that when he was wounded to death, the goddess, hastening to his side, trod with her bare feet on a bush of white roses, which tore her tender flesh, and her sacred blood dyed the white roses for ever red.[9] At Rome there was an ancient

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 3 *sqq.*

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 190-198.

[3] Pausanias, iii. 23. 1.

[4] Herodotus, i. 105; Pausanias, i. 14. 7. As to the Armed Aphrodite see my note on Pausanias, iii. 15. 10 (vol. iii. p. 338).

[5] Herodotus, i. 105.

[6] L. W. King, *Babylonian Mythology and Religion* (London, 1899), pp. 24 *sq.*

[7] Pausanias, vi. 24. 7; Diodorus Siculus, i. 17. 5; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 20; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 3.

[8] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 72. According to another, and apparently more prevalent version of the story, Adonis was born, not from a myrtle, but from a myrrh-tree. See Apollodorus, iii. 14. 4, with my note; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 469 *sqq.*

[9] Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 831; *Geoponica*, xi. 17; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, p. 359.

altar supposed to be dedicated to Myrtle Venus.[1] At the festival of the Vinalia, as we learn from Ovid, women offered myrtle and roses to the goddess in her temple near the Colline Gate,[2] and on the first of April, the month of Venus, Roman women wore wreaths of myrtle when they bathed.[3] Nothing, therefore, could be more appropriate than that the goddess should touch with myrtle the poet's brows when he set himself to sing of the month of April.

IV. 19. **Yet if any part of the calendar should interest thee, Caesar, thou hast in April matter of concern.**—Augustus, whom Ovid is here addressing, was adopted by Julius Caesar,[4] who, in common with the whole Julian family, traced his descent from Venus through Aeneas, the reputed son of the goddess by Anchises. At an early stage of his career, Caesar publicly laid claim to this divine lineage in a funeral oration which he delivered in honour of his aunt Julia. " The Julii ", he said, " are sprung from Venus, and our family is a branch of that clan." [5] Hence, in virtue of his adoption into that noble house, Augustus could also count kindred with Venus and therefore interest himself particularly in her own month, the month of April.

IV. 21. **This month thou hast inherited by a great pedigree.**—The literal translation is, " by a great image ", with reference to the waxen busts of ancestors which noble Romans kept in their houses as proofs of their illustrious descent. Ovid has already alluded to them in the present poem.[6] However, in the present passage the reading is doubtful. See the Critical Note.

IV. 23. **When the Ilian sire was putting the long year on record.**—Here, as elsewhere,[7] Ovid assumes that the oldest Roman calendar was instituted by Romulus, whom he calls " the Ilian sire ", because the Romans traced their descent,

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 122, " *Quin et ara fuit Veneri Myrteae, quam nunc Murtiam vocant* ". But see below, note on *Fasti*, iv. 157, p. 195.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 869 *sq.*

[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 2. See below, p. 191. On the relation of Venus to the myrtle see further C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 445 *sqq.*; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien* [7] (Berlin, 1902), pp. 220 *sqq.*

[4] Dio Cassius, xliv. 35. 2, xlv. 3. 1-2.

[5] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 6. 1.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 591, with the note.

[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 27 *sqq.*, iii. 71 *sqq.*

through Aeneas, from Ilus, the founder of Ilium.[1] The mother of Anchises, the father of Aeneas, was Themiste, daughter of Ilus.[2] Elsewhere Ovid calls Romulus simply Iliades,[3] and he applies the same name both to Romulus and Remus in a passage which certainly suggests that by Iliades he meant " son of Ilia " rather than " descendant of Ilus ".[4] In yet another passage he speaks of the twins as " the Ilian brothers ".[5] Ovid refers to the mother of Romulus and Remus sometimes as Ilia [6] and sometimes as Silvia.[7]

IV. 31. **How, prithee, should he not know that Dardanus was born of Electra.**—The following pedigree, which traces the descent of Aeneas from Jupiter (Zeus) as well as from Venus (Aphrodite), is borrowed from Homer, who represents Aeneas himself setting forth his lineage in conversation with Achilles.[8] Homer does not, indeed, mention Electra, daughter of Atlas, as the mother of Dardanus, but she is so named by the scholiast on Homer, Apollodorus, Diodorus Siculus, Tzetzes, and Hyginus.[9]

IV. 35. **Next came Anchises, with whom Venus did not disdain to share the name of parent.**— Ovid means that Anchises was the son of Capys, as was expressly affirmed by Homer and later writers.[10] Yet a little later on, by speaking of Venus as " the daughter-in-law of Assaracus ",[11] the poet implies that Anchises, the lover of Venus, was the son of Assaracus, though according to Homer and later writers Assaracus was the grandfather of Anchises, being the father

[1] As to the foundation of Ilium by Ilus see Apollodorus, iii. 12. 3 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 3 ; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 29. Homer says (*Iliad*, xx. 215-218) that Dardanus built Dardania on the slopes of Mount Ida before Ilium was founded on the plain.

[2] Apollodorus, iii. 12. 2.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 781, 824.

[4] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 4. 39 *sq.*, " *In qua Martigenae non sunt sine crimine nati | Romulus Iliades Iliadesque Remus* " ; compare *Tristia*, iv. 3. 8, " *Iliades . . . . Remus* ".

[5] *Fasti*, iii. 62, " *Iliadae fratres* ".

[6] *Fasti*, ii. 598, iii. 233, iv. 54, 55, *Amores*, ii. 14. 15, iii. 6. 47, 54, 61, 62.

[7] *Fasti*, ii. 383, iii. 11, 45.

[8] Homer, *Il.* xx. 213-241. Compare Apollodorus, iii. 12. 1-2 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75.

[9] Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xx. 215 ; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 1 ; Diodorus Siculus, v. 48. 2 ; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 29 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 155.

[10] Homer, *Il.* xx. 239 ; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 2 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 5 ; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 1232.

[11] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 123.

of Capys, who was the father of Anchises.[1] We may suppose that the usually accurate Ovid nodded for once over this dull genealogical tree, in which the names are for us now mostly names and nothing more.

The love of Venus (Aphrodite) for Anchises is briefly mentioned by Homer,[2] but is described with a wealth of poetical details by the author of the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*.[3]

IV. 37. **Aeneas, whose piety was proved when on his shoulders through the fire he bore the holy things and his own sire.**—No doubt Ovid had here in mind Virgil's famous description of this episode in the sack and burning of Troy.[4] The subject was indeed a rhetorical or poetical commonplace, and our author often alludes to it in the course of the present work.[5]

IV. 39. **Julus, through whom the Julian house reaches back to Teucrian ancestors.**—As Ovid here tells us, the Julian family traced their descent from Julus or Ascanius, as he was also called, the son of Aeneas ; hence the members of that noble house believed that Teucrian, that is, Trojan blood flowed in their blue veins.[6]

IV. 41. **He had a son Postumus, who, because he was born in the deep woods, was called Silvius.**—Thus according to Ovid, with whom Livy agrees,[7] Postumus or Silvius or Silvius Postumus, as he was also called,[8] was a son of Julus (Ascanius) and therefore a grandson of Aeneas. But according to another and apparently more generally accepted tradition, which Virgil followed, Silvius was a posthumous son of Aeneas by his wife Lavinia.[9] It is said that when

[1] Homer, *Il.* xx. 239; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 2 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 5 ; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 1232. Compare note on *Fasti*, iv. 943.

[2] Homer, *Il.* ii. 821 *sq.*, v. 247 *sq.*, 312 *sq.*, xx. 208 *sq.*

[3] *Homeric Hymns*, V., *To Aphrodite*, 45 *sqq.*

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 705 *sqq.*

[5] *Fasti*, i. 527 *sq.*, ii. 543 *sq.*, iii. 423 *sq.*, iv. 77 *sq.*, 799 *sq.*, v. 563 *sq.*, vi. 434.

[6] Compare Virgil, *Aen.* i. 267 *sq.*, 286-288, vi. 789 *sq.* ; Livy, i. 3. 2 *sq.* ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 70. 4.

[7] Livy, i. 3. 6.

[8] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 17. 4.

[9] Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 761-765. Commenting on this passage Aulus Gellius observes that according to the records of almost all the annals Silvius was born after the death of Aeneas and on that account was called Postumus. See Aulus Gellius, ii. 16. 1-7.

Aeneas died, Lavinia was with child by him, and fearing the jealousy of her stepson Julus or Ascanius, who had succeeded his father on the throne, and might regard the infant in her womb as a rival claimant to the crown, she entrusted herself to the master of the royal swineherds, a devoted servant of her deceased royal father, King Latinus. The man proved worthy of the confidence which the widowed queen reposed in him. He conveyed his royal mistress away into the wild and lonely woods, and there, in a dell of the forest, he built a cottage known to few, where he lodged the expectant mother and reared the child to whom she gave birth. That child he named Silvius or the Woodland Man after the woods (*silvae*) among which he had been born and brought up. But the disappearance of the dowager queen excited dark suspicions; it was whispered that there had been foul play, and that the king had made away with her to prevent the birth of a rival. So, search was made for her, and the master of the swineherds produced the lady and her royal infant from the dell in which they had been concealed. In time the king died leaving a son named Julus, and the question arose, who should succeed him on the throne, his own son Julus or Silvius, the son of Aeneas? The question was submitted to a vote of the people, and they unanimously elected Silvius. But to compensate Julus for the loss of the kingdom he was appointed high priest or Pontifex Maximus, an office in point of dignity (observes Diodorus Siculus) only second to that of the king.[1] Meantime Ascanius had transferred the seat of government from Lavinium, the first capital of the Trojan settlers in Latium, to the new city of Alba Longa, which he had founded in a much stronger position on the Alban Hills, protected behind by the steep slope of the mountain and in front by the deep and broad water of the Alban Lake.[2] After Ascanius the first king of Alba Longa

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 70; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3[a] (vol. ii. pp. 110 *sq.* ed. L. Dindorf); Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. coll. 285, 287; Zonaras, vii. 1; Festus, *s.v.* "Silvi", p. 460 ed. Lindsay; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 17. 4; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 760.

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 267-271; Livy, i. 3. 3; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 17. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 66, i. 73. 3; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3[a]. 1 (vol. ii. p. 110 ed. Dindorf); Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. col. 285; Appian, *Roman History*, i. 1. 2 (vol. i. p. 30 ed. H. White) (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 16 b, ed. Bekker).

was Silvius, and after him all the succeeding kings of Alba were called Silvii, equivalent to English Woods.[1]

The tradition of a disputed succession to the crown, and its settlement by awarding the kingdom to one of the claimants and the high priesthood to the other, appears to point to the existence of a double kingship, a civil and a sacred kingship, such as is found not uncommonly among peoples at a certain level of culture.[2] On the reminiscence of such a double kingship the double consulship at Rome may have been afterwards founded, though in that office the sacred functions were dropped, and the consuls remained purely civil magistrates. The split between the civil and the sacred power appears to have commonly come about through the ever-increasing burden of taboos and ceremonies heaped on the king, who, weighed down by them, sinks into a puppet dancing to the tune set by the priests, while the sceptre is transferred to the more vigorous hands of a civil ruler. It has been ingeniously suggested by Dr. A. B. Cook that the priestly King of the Wood (*Rex Nemorensis*), who reigned in the Arician grove, beside the woodland Lake of Nemi, was the lawful successor and representative of the Silvii or Woods, who reigned not far off at Alba Longa, the Long White City that blanched the green hillside above the blue water of the sister Alban Lake.[3] The tradition that the king who gave his name to the dynasty was born and brought up in a secluded dell of the forest fits well with the theory that, long after the dynasty itself had passed away and the city lay deserted and in ruins, the sacred functions that had appertained of old to the kings of Alba were still discharged by the priest, the nominal King of the Wood, who prowled, sword in hand, in the grove, guarding the sacred tree that to him was indeed a Tree of Life or of Death.[4] So in

[1] Livy, i. 3. 5-8; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 17. 5; Servius, on Virgil, vii. 760, 770; Appian, *Roman History*, i. 1. 2 (vol. i. p. 30 ed. H. White) (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 16 b, ed. Bekker).

[2] For instances see *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 17 *sqq.*

[3] A. B. Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak", *Classical Review*, xviii. (1904) pp. 363 *sq.*; *id.*, "The European Sky-god", *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) pp. 277 *sq.* Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 178 *sqq.*, 379.

[4] Strabo, v. 3. 12, p. 239; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 136. See Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 271 *sq.*, with the note.

Rome, centuries after the real kings had been banished, their priestly duties continued to be performed by the nominal King of the Sacred Rites, the shadow or ghost of a royalty that was dead.

There is some ground for thinking that the wood from which the kings of Alba and the nominal King of the Wood at Nemi took their titles was a wood mainly, if not exclusively, of oak trees. For in the vision of the future, which Virgil causes to pass before the eyes of Aeneas in the nether world, Anchises points out to his son the figures of the kings of Alba all crowned with wreaths of oak ;[1] and a microscopic analysis of the charred embers of the Vestal fire in the Forum at Rome has proved that they consist of the pith or heart of trunks or great branches of oak (*quercus*).[2] But if the Vestal fire at Rome was fed with oak wood, we may safely assume that the same was true of the Vestal fire at Alba, from which the Roman worship of Vesta was derived. In memory of that derivation the sacred Vestal fire, tended by Vestal Virgins, continued to burn among the ruins of Alba down to Imperial times.[3] There is evidence that at Nemi also a sacred Vestal fire, tended by Vestals, burned in a round temple like that at Rome.[4] But if alike at Rome and at her two ancient shrines on the Alban Hills the sacred fire of Vesta was always fed with oak wood, the reason can only have been that the oak was accounted peculiarly sacred in her worship ; and from that again we may reasonably infer that the Silvii at Alba and the King of the Wood at Nemi regarded the oak with veneration above all the trees of the wood. Perhaps, on the strength of analogies which I have cited at length in *The Golden Bough*, we may go a step further and conjecture that the real kings of Alba and the nominal kings of Nemi were believed to be invested with magical powers over the woods and vegetation in general,

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 772.

[2] G. Boni, in *Notizie degli Scavi*, May 1900, pp. 161, 172 ; *id.*, *Aedes Vestae*, p. 14 (extract from the *Nuova Antologia*, 1st August 1900). Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 184 *sqq.*

[3] Juvenal, iv. 60 *sq.* The Vestal Virgins of Alba are mentioned in inscriptions. See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5011, 6190. See above, p. 5.

[4] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 267 (above, p. 71).

over man and beast, nay, over the whole course of nature, which they could direct at will for the benefit of their friends and the confusion of their foes. The conjecture is supported by the legend that one of the Alban kings claimed to exercise the divine prerogative of thunder and lightning and was signally punished for his impious presumption. To this topic Ovid briefly alludes a few lines lower down.[1]

IV. 43. **He was thy father, Latinus.**—This Latinus, the second of the Alban kings, son of Silvius and father of Alba, is not to be confounded with the much more famous King Latinus, who gave his daughter Lavinia in marriage to Aeneas. The Alban king Latinus is mentioned by the historians of the dynasty,[2] if we can give the name of history to what is little more than a bare list of names.

IV. 43. **Latinus was succeeded by Alba.**—This and the following list of the Alban kings is substantially repeated by Ovid elsewhere.[3] It should be compared with the lists given by Virgil, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Eusebius, Zonaras, Tzetzes, and the writer who goes under the name of Aurelius Victor.[4] Naturally very little reliance can be placed on these lists ; for if the history of the kings of Rome is dim and uncertain, much dimmer and more uncertain is the history of their predecessors, the kings of Alba. The pontifical books seem to have contained some account of them, for Aurelius Victor refers to the fourth book of that venerable collection, as his authority for the statement that the kings of Alba from the time of Silvius the First down to the foundation of Rome all bore the family name of Silvius.[5] King Alba, son of Latinus, is mentioned also by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Eusebius. The length of his reign is variously given as thirty-eight years by Diodorus and thirty-nine years by Dionysius and Eusebius ; he is named

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 50, with the note.

[2] See the following notes.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xiv. 609 *sqq.*

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 760-772 ; Livy, i. 3. 6-11 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 70-71 ; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3^a, 3^b. 4 (vol. ii. pp. 110-113 ed. L. Dindorf) ; Appian, *Roman History*, i. 1. 2 (vol. i. p. 30 ed. H. White) ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. coll. 285-291 ; Zonaras, vii. 1 ; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 1232 ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 17-19. As to the Alban kings see A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 337 *sqq.*

[5] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 17. 5.

Albas by Dionysius, Alba Silvius by Diodorus, and Albas Silvius or Silvas by Eusebius.[1]

The length of the reigns of the kings of Alba is recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Eusebius.[2] Added up together they make a total of 432 years, which is exactly the interval between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome, as that interval was estimated by Cato the Elder.[3] The coincidence has excited the suspicion of modern historians that the reigns of these kings are a chronological stopgap thrown in to fill up the interval between the two events.[4] According to Virgil, the kings of Alba reigned altogether three hundred years,[5] and this number was accepted by Trogus Pompeius,[6] and apparently by Livy, who, in recording the destruction of Alba, observes that in a single hour a city which had stood for four hundred years was levelled with the ground.[7] The occurrence of Greek or Trojan names, such as Capys, Epytus, and Calpetus or Capetus, in the list of the Alban kings lends colour to the view that the list was vamped up by a Greek historian, or rather romancer, out of his inner consciousness; Niebuhr would nail down the forgery on Alexander Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla, which seems too late to allow time for the fiction to percolate into and taint the pure sources of Roman history.[8]

IV. 44. **and next to Alba on the list was Epytus.**—Thus according to our author, Alba was succeeded by Epytus; Epytus was succeeded by his son Capys; Capys was suc-

[1] Livy, i. 3. 8; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71. 1; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3[a]. 8 (vol. ii. p. 111 ed. L. Dindorf); Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. coll. 287, 289.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71; Eusebius, *Chronicorum liber prior*, ed. A. Schoene, i. coll. 289, 291.

[3] Cato, cited by Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 74. 2. According to Solinus (i. 28), the interval between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome was 433 years; according to Velleius Paterculus (i. 8. 4), it was 437 years.

[4] A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 343 *sq.*

[5] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 272-274.

[6] Justin, xliii. 1. 13.

[7] Livy, i. 29. 6.

[8] B. G. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, translated by Hare and Thirlwall, i. 170. Niebuhr assumes the guilt of Alexander Polyhistor on the somewhat slender ground that, according to Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 330), the Greek historian was Livy's authority for the story of the drowning of the Alban king Tiberinus in the river which ever after bore his name. See Livy, i. 3. 8.

ceeded by Calpetus or Capetus (the reading is doubtful); Calpetus or Capetus was followed on the throne by his son Tiberinus; Tiberinus was succeeded by his son Agrippa and his grandson Remulus; Remulus was succeeded by Aventinus; and Aventinus was succeeded by Numitor, brother of the usurper Amulius. In the *Metamorphoses* the poet has repeated the same list of kings, except that between Remulus and Aventinus he mentions a certain Acrota, who after the death of his brother Remulus resigned the sceptre to Aventinus.[1] According to Livy, the full list of the Alban kings was as follows: Ascanius, Silvius, Latinus Silvius, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus Silvius, Aventinus, Procas, Amulius, Numitor.[2] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the kings of Alba succeeded each other in the following order: Silvius, Aeneas (son of Silvius), Latinus, Albas, Capetus, Capys, Calpetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Allodius, Aventinus, Procas, Amolius (Amulius), Nemetor (Numitor).[3] According to Diodorus Siculus, the kings of Alba were as follows: Ascanius, Silvius, Aeneas Silvius, Latinus Silvius, Alba Silvius, Epitus Silvius, Capys, Calpetus, Tiberius Silvius, Agrippa, Amulius Silvius, Aventius, Procas Silvius, Amulius, the usurper, younger brother of Numitor.[4] According to Appian, the Alban kings were as follows: Ascanius, Silvius, Aeneas Silvius, Latinus Silvius, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus, Aventinus, Procas, Nemetor (Numitor), Amulius.[5] According to Eusebius, the kings who reigned over Alba were the following: Askanius, Silvius (son of Aeneas), Aenias Silvas, Latinus Silvius, Albas Silvius or Silvas, Epitus Silvas, Kapis or Apis, Silvius, Kalpet or Karpentus Silvas, Tiberius Silvius, Agripas Silvius, Arramulius Silvius, Aventius, Prokas Silvas, Amolius Silvas.[6]

In Livy's list of the kings the name Epytus does not appear; it is replaced by Atys, which may be a corruption of Epytus. In the list given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 612 *sqq.*
[2] Livy, i. 3. 3-10, i. 6. 1-3.
[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71.
[4] Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3[a]. (vol. ii. pp. 110-112 ed. L. Dindorf).
[5] Appian, *Roman History*, i. 1. 2 (vol. i. p. 30 ed. H. White) (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 16 b, ed. Bekker).
[6] Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. coll. 285-291.

the name Epytus is also wanting and is replaced by Capetus, which may likewise be a corruption of Epytus.

IV. 45. **He gave to his son Capys a Trojan name, revived for the purpose.**—The Trojan Capys was son of Assaracus and father of Anchises, according to Homer,[1] with whom Ovid agrees (above, lines 34 *sq.*).

IV. 46. **he was also the grandfather of Calpetus.** — The reading of this king's name varies in the manuscripts of Ovid. See the Critical Note. By Livy, Appian, and Ovid elsewhere the king's name is spelt Capetus ;[2] but Diodorus Siculus calls him Calpetus.[3] Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives both forms, Capetus and Calpetus, but he applies them to different kings, the order of succession being, according to him, Alba, Capetus, Capys, Calpetus,[4] but, as we have just seen, Capetus may here be a corruption of Epytus. In the *Metamorphoses* Ovid expressly affirms that Capys preceded Capetus.[5] One of the unsuccessful suitors of Hippodamia, slain by the fair lady's father Oenomaus, is said to have been named Capetus.[6]

IV. 47. **Tiberinus . . . was drowned, it is said, in a deep pool of the Tuscan river.**—" The Tuscan river " is the Tiber, which was traditionally said to have been formerly called Albula and to have taken its new name of Tiber from King Tiberinus drowned in its water. Ovid has already alluded to the legend in the present poem.[7] That the ancient name of the Tiber was Albula is affirmed by Varro, Festus, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Aurelius Victor, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus ; according to Diodorus Siculus and Eusebius, the old name of the river was Alba ; according to Zonaras it was Albulus.[8]

[1] Homer, *Il.* xx. 239.

[2] Livy, i. 3. 8 ; Appian, *Roman History*, i. 1. 2 (vol. i. p. 30 ed. H. White) ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 613.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3ª. 8 (vol. ii. p. 111 ed. L. Dindorf).

[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71. 1.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 613 *sq.*

[6] Pausanias, vi. 21. 10.

[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 289 *sq.* Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 614-616 ; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 330-332 ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 30 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Albula ", p. 4 ed. Lindsay ; Livy, i. 3. 8 ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 18. 1 (citing as his authorities the first book of L. Cincius and the fourth book of Lutatius) ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 500, viii. 330 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71. 2 ; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3ª. 9 (vol. ii. p. 111 ed. L. Dindorf) ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. col. 287 ; Zonaras, vii. 1.

[8] See the references in the preceding note.

A little lower down (line 68) our author, in strict accord with legendary history, says that, on coming to the hills where Rome afterwards stood, Hercules drank the water of the Abula; for it was not till long after the time of Hercules that the river changed its name to Tiber.

IV. 50. **Remulus, they say, was struck by lightning.**— This proud and impious king is said to have set up for being a god in his own person, the equal or superior of Jupiter. To support his pretensions to divinity and overawe his subjects he constructed machines whereby he mimicked the flash of lightning and the clap of thunder; and in the season of fruitage, when thunderstorms are frequent, he commanded his soldiers to drown the roar of heaven's artillery by clashing their swords on their shields. But his impiety met with a fitting reward; for he was struck by a thunderbolt, and he and his palace were swallowed up in the Alban Lake. Yet, long after dwellers by the lake could see in calm weather the ruins of the palace shimmering through the clear green water. The presumptuous and ill-fated king is variously named Remulus by Ovid; Romulus Silvius by Livy; Aremulus Silvius by Aurelius Victor; Arramulius Silvius by Eusebius; Amulius Silvius by Diodorus Siculus; Amulius by Zonaras; and Allodius by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[1]

A similar tale was told of Salmoneus, king of Elis. He professed to be Zeus in person and ordered his subjects to offer sacrifices to him as such. In his divine character he imitated lightning by hurling lighted torches, and he mimicked the roll of thunder by dragging kettles behind his chariot and by driving over a bronze bridge. But Zeus punished his puny rival by striking him dead with a thunderbolt and destroying his city and all its inhabitants.[2] Such stories point to an ancient custom of regarding Greek and Roman kings as divine and expecting them to make rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, for the good of the crops, the cattle,

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph* xiv. 617 *sq.*; Livy, i. 3. 9; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 18. 2-4 (citing as his authorities the fourth book of the *Annals*, Piso, Aufidius, and Domitius); Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3ª. 10-11, vii. 4 (vol. ii. pp. 111 *sq.*, 112 *sq.* ed. L. Dindorf); Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. coll. 287, 289; Zonaras, vii. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71. 3.

[2] Apollodorus, i. 9. 7; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 585 *sqq.*, with the commentary of Servius; Manilius, v. 91-96; Hyginus, *Fab.* 61.

and the people. Similar beliefs and usages in regard to kings and chiefs have prevailed widely in Africa down to modern times, and in that continent rulers who failed to produce rain when it was wanted were liable to be punished or even put to death.[1] For instance, among the Bakerewe, an African people who inhabit, or inhabited till lately, the largest island in the central sea of Africa, the Lake Victoria Nyanza, the rain-maker is an important personage, "for the making of rain to fall is of the first importance. Hence this power is often reserved for the king; he is the great, the supreme rain-maker of the country; it is to him that the people address themselves in the last resort. If he succeeds, he soon becomes popular; if he is not successful, he is universally despised and ruthlessly driven from the throne."[2] Again, in the Central District of Busoga, a country on the northern side of Lake Victoria Nyanza, "the chief of the district is responsible for the weather. He is believed to have power to send either rain or sunshine at will; he can give or withhold as he pleases. Hence, when there is a prolonged drought and the crops are suffering, the people go in a body and beg rain from him, asking him to use his influence to make the rain fall. Should it come in a few days, they are happy; but, should it still delay, they re-assemble and abuse the chief roundly for his callous behaviour and demand that he shall exert himself and cease to be so idle."[3] Again, among the Mossi, a people of the Western Sudan, "water in general and the rain in particular are a great benefit in this land of the sun. If the rain is late, the crops will not have the time to ripen; if it falls too abundantly, especially at the beginning and the end of the winter, the weeds will choke the millet or the blossoms will fall before the fruit is formed. Hence the rain is desired or dreaded according to circumstances; and to the Naba (the king) is reserved the power of making or banishing the rain. . . . The Naba accordingly has the *grisgris*, the talisman which should attract the rain, and for that, it is enough, when the storm is

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i. pp. 342 *sqq.*, 352 *sqq.*

[2] P. Eugène Hurel, "Religion et Vie domestique des Bakerewe", *Anthropos*, vi. (1911) p. 84.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 254.

lowering, for him to bring forth from his house a certain pitcher full of certain roots and to fill it with water to overflowing. If, on the contrary, he wishes to drive away the rain, he burns other roots and the wind carries away the smoke in the direction in which the Naba wishes to send the clouds ; or it may be that he hangs the tail of a cow or a horse by a string to a staff ; the wind waves it about, and thereby drives away the clouds." [1] Again, among the Bechuanas of of South Africa, inhabiting an arid country where rain is of prime importance, " in the old days the chief was the great rain-maker of the tribe. He was not only the temporal but the spiritual head of the tribe, and it was his duty to see that the fertilizing showers descended upon the land. There is little doubt that the chieftainship evolved from the priesthood. The highest compliment that the natives can pay to the memory of a departed chief is to say that he was a great rain-maker, and a man who was successful in this line was likely to become not only wealthy but powerful, and very likely eventually become chief." [2] Again, the tribes to the east of Lake Tanganyika are governed each by its petty king, and among them " it may happen that the subjects depose a king who does not please them. Thus, to cite but a single example of a somewhat original sort, one of the royal privileges being, in the belief of the vulgar, to cause the rain to fall at the season of hoeing and sowing, if the fountains of heaven chance to run dry at the critical moment, the blame will without fail be laid on the indolent monarch, and it will be said that he does not know his business. Between these murmurs and a revolution of revenge there is but one step, and a step that is quickly taken in petty and turbulent communities where nobody ever walks without a spear in his hand." [3] Once more, in the Kaba Province of Northern Nigeria, " the most prominent feature of the Yoruba-speaking tribes living west of the Niger is the honourable craft of rain-making. All independent chiefs and every chief of importance (except some in Igbedde) are held to have powers

[1] Eugène Mangin, " Les Mossi ", *Anthropos*, x.-xi. (1915–1916) p. 212.

[2] S. S. Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari* (London, 1925), pp. 300 *sq.*

[3] Mgr. Lechaptois, *Aux rives du Tanganika* (Alger, 1913) p. 75.

of creating or calling rain. The actual ceremonies that are supposed to produce the rain are secret." [1]

On the analogy of their African compeers we may conjecture that Salmoneus and Remulus were put to death, not for pretending to make thunder and rain, but for failing to make them in time of drought when the crops were languishing and the pastures were burnt up for lack of refreshing showers. In ancient Egypt also the kings, who were regarded as divine, were blamed when the crops failed; [2] and they seem to have annually performed ceremonies, based on the principle of sympathetic magic, for the purpose of making the Nile rise at the time of year when its water was needed for the irrigation of the fields, thus discharging a function analogous to that of rain-makers in other parts of Africa.[3]

IV. 51. **After them came Aventinus, from whom the place and also the hill took their name.**—The Alban king Aventinus is said to have been buried on the Aventine Hill at Rome, to which he gave his name.[4] To explain why the king's grave was so far from Alba it was alleged that he fought a battle with the people of the neighbourhood, and that being surrounded and slain by the enemy, he was buried on the ground where he fell.[5] Other derivations of the name Aventine are mentioned by Varro. Some people, for example, thought that the name came from *aves*, " birds ", because birds flew to the hill from the river. Varro himself preferred to derive the name Aventine from *advehi*, " to be ferried to a place ", because of old the hill had been surrounded by marshes, and people were ferried to it (*advehebantur*) on rafts.[6] However, in another work he is reported to have said that Sabine

[1] C. R. Niven, " The Kaba Province of the Northern Provinces, Nigeria ", *The Geographical Journal*, lxviii. (1926) p. 299. As to rain-making in Northern Nigeria, see further C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), ii. 63 *sqq.*

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5. 14.

[3] Sir Flinders Petrie, " The Royal Magician ", *Ancient Egypt*, September 1925, pp. 65-70.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 43; Festus, *s.v.* " Aventinus ", p. 17 ed. Lindsay; Livy, i. 3. 9; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 620 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 657.

[5] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 18. 5; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3[a]. 12 (vol. ii. p. 112 ed. L. Dindorf); Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. col. 289.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 43. Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 657) preferred the derivation from *aves*.

colonists, planted by Romulus on the Aventine, named the hill after the Avens, a river of their native country.[1] Acting on this hint, M. Merlin would derive the name Aventine from a Ligurian (not Sabine) root *av*, signifying "river", so that Aventine would mean "the river-hill" with reference to the Tiber, which, on this hypothesis, was known by a Ligurian name beginning with *av* (like our English Avon) before it was called the Tiber.[2] Of the fourteen regions into which Augustus divided Rome, one was called Aventine (*Aventinus*); it included the larger part of the hill and extended to the river.[3] To this region Ovid alludes when he says that the place as well as the hill was named after the Alban king.

IV. 52. **Proca, who was succeeded by Numitor, brother of hard-hearted Amulius.**—Proca, king of Alba, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. He bequeathed the kingdom to his elder son Numitor; but the younger son Amulius was ambitious and unscrupulous: he deposed his elder brother and reigned in his stead; and in order to cut off the succession from his brother's line he murdered his brother's son, and doomed his brother's daughter, Rhea Silvia or Ilia, to perpetual virginity by making her a Vestal under the fair pretext of doing her honour. However, retribution overtook the usurper, for he was afterwards slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of Silvia, and his elder brother Numitor was replaced on the throne.[4] The nephew whom Amulius murdered is called Lausus by Ovid (line 54) but Aegestus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says that the lad was in the bloom of youth, and that his wicked uncle laid an ambush for him when he was out hunting, and then spread abroad a report that his victim had been killed by brigands.[5]

IV 56. **Ilia . . . gave birth to thee, Quirinus, and thy twin brother.**—Here Ovid uses the name Quirinus as equivalent

[1] Varro, *De gente Populi Romani*, quoted by Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 657.
[2] A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1906), pp. 29-33.
[3] S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 63.
[4] Livy, i. 3. 10-11, i. 5-6; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 19. 1-4 and 21. 4; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 76; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3[a]. 12 (vol. ii. p. 112 ed. L. Dindorf); Plutarch, *Romulus*, 3 and 8; Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, i. col. 289; Zonaras, vii. 1-2. To some of these events Ovid has already alluded (*Fasti*, iii. 49-68).
[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 76. 2.

to Romulus, though it was a title only bestowed on his glorified spirit after death.[1]

IV. 61. **the month of Venus took its name from the Greek language.** — Ovid supposes that April was named after Aphrodite, the Greek equivalent of Venus, whose name, as the poet mentions immediately, was popularly derived from *aphros*, "foam". The derivation probably gave rise to the myth that the goddess was born and bred among the white sea-foam.[2] The derivation of the name April from Aphrodite was accepted by some Roman antiquaries, such as Fulvius and Junius, but it was rejected by Cincius and Varro, who preferred to derive the name from the verb *aperire*, "to open", because the buds and blossoms open in the vernal air. Cincius, indeed, argued that the derivation of April from Venus (Aphrodite) showed gross ignorance on the part of the ancients, since there was no festival of Venus and no important sacrifice offered to her in the whole month, and there was no mention of Venus in the songs of the Salii, one of the oldest monuments of the Latin language. With this opinion Varro agreed, adding that the name of Venus either in the Latin or the Greek form was unknown under the kings and therefore could not be the source of the name of the month.[3] The derivation of April from *aperire*, "to open", appears to have been also accepted by the learned grammarian Verrius Flaccus; for in the Praenestine calendar, which he seems to have edited, there is a note to the effect that April was so called because in it "fruits and flowers and animals and seas and lands do open".[4] Indeed, patriotic Romans would seem to have generally preferred the native Latin etymology to the derivation from the Greek.[5] However, the learned Ausonius, like the learned Ovid, adhered to the foreign etymology.[6] Our author, indeed, spurned

[1] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 37, with the note, 299, ii. 475 *sqq.*, vi. 93, 375, 796.

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 190-193.

[3] Cincius and Varro, cited by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 12-13; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 235, 286.

[5] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 11; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 14; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43 and 217; Isidore, *Origines*, v. 33. 7 (who gives the two derivations as alternatives); Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 64, p. 118 ed. Wuensch.

[6] Ausonius, *Ecl.* x. *De mensibus*, 7-8 (vol. i. p. 184 ed. H. G. E. White).

with indignation the derivation of April from *aperire* as a base and impious attempt to rob Venus of her due.[1] Plutarch mentions both etymologies, but as a Greek appears to have preferred the Greek derivation from Aphrodite on the ground that in that month "the women sacrifice to the goddess and wear wreaths of myrtle when they bathe".[2] Among modern scholars the other derivation from *aperire*, "to open", was accepted by L. Preller and W. Warde Fowler.[3]

IV. 64. **the Italian land was Greater Greece.**—Southern Italy was formerly called Great Greece on account of the numerous and flourishing Greek colonies with which in happier days its now desolate and fever-stricken coasts were studded. But in Ovid's time, at the beginning of our era, the old Greek population and civilization had almost died out and been replaced by the descendants of the barbarous aboriginal tribes, the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and the Campanians. Only Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples remained like Greek islands in a sea of barbarism.[4] It was to Tarentum, with its lingering memories of Greece, its long spring and mild winters, where the honey matched that of Hymettus, where the olives vied with those of Venafrum, and where the grapes envied not the Falernian clusters, that Horace dreamed of retiring in old age from the bleaker skies of Central Italy, leaving behind him even the hanging woods and falling waters of his beloved Tibur.[5] It is to be feared that to-day these shores retain little of their ancient charm except their azure sea and sky.

The account which in the following lines Ovid gives of Greek colonies in Italy is little to the purpose, but it serves to diversify the main theme and to display the poet's learning, which was indeed very considerable.

IV. 65. **Evander had come to Italy.**—Ovid has already described at full length the legendary coming of Evander from Arcadia to Italy.[6]

IV. 66. **Alcides also had come.**—The arrival of Hercules

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 85-115.
[2] Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 2.
[3] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 442; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 66.
[4] Strabo, vi. 1. 2, p. 253.
[5] Horace, *Odes*, ii. 6. 5-24.
[6] *Fasti*, i. 469 *sqq.*

(Alcides) on the banks of the Tiber and his encounter with the cattle-thief Cacus, are told by our author in the first book of the present work.[1]

IV. 68. **The Neritian chief also came.**—"The Neritian chief" is Ulysses, whom Ovid so calls with reference to Mount Neritum in Ithaca.[2] Elsewhere our author uses the adjective Neritian in the sense of Ithacan.[3] Like many others in ancient and modern times Ovid sought to transfer the wanderings of Ulysses from the iridescent clouds of fairyland to the more solid, but still beautiful, coasts of Italy and Sicily. At this task of interpretation Strabo laboured in antiquity and Victor Bérard in modern times.[4] Strabo thought that the voyage of Ulysses could be traced not only along the Italian shores but to the farthest parts of Spain, though he dismissed as fabulous the stories of the cattle of the Sun, the monstrous Cyclopes, the converse of Ulysses with goddesses, the transformation of men into beasts, and so forth.[5]

IV. 69. **witness the Laestrygones.**—Lamus, king of the Laestrygones,[6] was thought to have founded Formiae, on the coast of Latium.[7] The noble Roman family of the Lamiae deduced their descent from this Lamus; Horace addressed an ode to one of the family in which he alludes to this pedigree.[8] Homer represents the Laestrygones as a race of cannibal giants, dwelling in a land where a man who never slept might earn double wages, "because the paths of night and day are near together",[9] apparently alluding to the short summer nights of some far northern land, of which rumours had early reached the Greeks.

IV. 70. **the shore which still bears the name of Circe.**—According to a tradition, which patriotic Latin poets naturally

[1] *Fasti*, i. 543 *sqq.*

[2] Homer, *Od.* ix. 21 *sq.* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 271, "*Neritos ardua saxis*".

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 712, xiv. 563, *Tristia*, i. 5. 57.

[4] Strabo, i. 2. 11 *sqq.*, pp. 21 *sqq.*; Victor Bérard, *Les Navigations d'Ulysse* (Paris, 1927–1928).

[5] Strabo, i. 2. 11, pp. 21 *sq.*

[6] Homer, *Od.* x. 81 *sqq.*

[7] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 16. 35 (where the adjective Laestrygonian is used for Formian), iii. 17. 1-7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 233 *sq.*; Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, ii. 13. 2; Silius Italicus, vii. 410, where *Laestrygoniosque recessus* means the bay of Formiae.

[8] Horace, iii. 17. 1 *sqq.*

[9] Homer, *Od.* x. 80-132.

favoured, the lofty headland of Circeium, on the coast of Latium, was the home of the enchantress Circe, the daughter of the Sun.[1] Virgil has described how Aeneas and his Trojans sailed by night past the headland where Circe was thrumming her fine-spun web and singing at the loom, while across the sea, that shimmered in the moonlight, came wafted the howls of wolves, the roar of lions, and the grunting of boars, telling of the hideous shapes into which the foul witch had transformed her victims. Affrighted at the sound, the mariners clapped on all sail and stood away in haste.[2] In the little town on the headland there was a sanctuary of Circe, and there the townsmen showed with pride a cup which they said had belonged to Ulysses.[3]

IV. 71. **Already the walls of Telegonus were standing.**—By "the walls of Telegonus" the poet means the town of Tusculum, which was said to have been founded by Telegonus, son of Ulysses by Circe.[4]

IV. 71. **the walls of moist Tibur, built by Argive hands.**—Three brothers, Catillus, Coras, and Tibur or Tiburnus are said to have come from Greece to Italy and there founded a city which they called Tibur after the eldest of the brothers.[5] The epithet "moist" applied by Ovid and Horace[6] to Tibur is eminently apt, recalling to all who have seen it the beautiful cascade in which the river Anio there tumbles over the rocky ledge in the very heart of the ancient town.[7]

IV. 73. **Driven from home by the tragic doom of Atrides, Halesus had come, after whom the Faliscan land deems that it takes its name.**—Halesus is said to have been a comrade or bastard son of Agamemnon, whom Ovid here calls by his patronymic Atrides. On the murder of that monarch, Halesus fled from Argos and came to Italy, where he founded the city of Falerii in southern Etruria and introduced the

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 63. 1; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 10 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 8 *sqq.*

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 8-24.

[3] Strabo, v. 3. 6, p. 232.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 93, with the note.

[5] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 670-673; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 670; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 6. 5.

[6] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 29. 6.

[7] As to the topography of Tibur and Horace's association with its beautiful scenes, which the poet loved, see G. H. Hallam, "Horace's villa at Tivoli", *Journal of Roman Studies*, iv. (1914) pp. 121-129.

worship of Juno (the Argive Hera). In the war between Turnus and Aeneas he, as an hereditary foe of the Trojans, sided with Turnus.[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that in his time, towards the end of the first century before Christ, Falerii still retained many ancient Greek institutions, particularly in the domain of religion. The temple of Juno at Falerii, he says, resembled the temple of Hera at Argos; the manner of the sacrifices was similar, and so were the sacred women who tended the sanctuary, including a young maiden called the Basket-bearer (*canephoros*), whose duty it was to begin the sacrifices. Similar, too, were the choruses of virgins who chanted the praises of the goddess in hymns handed down from their forefathers.[2] Ovid has described the annual procession which went with the sacrificial victims, to the music of the pipes, from Falerii to the sacred grove, where Juno was worshipped at a simple old altar. The victims were snow-white heifers, calves, a pig, and a ram. The virgins who carried the holy things were clad in white; and boys and girls cast their garments on the road where the procession was to pass. The form of the procession, adds the poet, was Argive, thus confirming the evidence of Dionysius as to the Greek, and particularly the Argive, character of the ritual.[3] A curious feature of the ritual seems to have been that a she-goat was set as a target for boys, who threw darts at it, and the boy who first hit it received the animal as a prize. The ceremony was explained by an obscure story, otherwise unknown, that the goddess had sought refuge in the woods but had been betrayed by a tale-bearing she-goat.[4]

The tradition of the Argive origin of Falerii, which was accepted by Cato,[5] appears not to be borne out by the evidence of the monuments; indeed, we are told that "there are no traces of Greek settlement north of Naples, and such stories as those which make Falerii a Greek city are palpable inventions of a later age entirely discredited by archaeology".[6] If that is so, it will follow that all the supposed Greek colonies

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 723 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 723; Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 13. 31-36.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 21. 1-2.

[3] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 13. 3-31.

[4] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 13. 18-22.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 51.

[6] D. Randall-Maciver, *The Etruscans* (Oxford, 1927), p. 14.

in Central Italy here enumerated by Ovid are equally fabulous or at least open to grave doubt.

Whatever the origin of Falerii, the name of its traditionary founder, Halesus, is probably identical etymologically with *fal*, the first syllable of the name of the city This was perceived by the learned Servius, who supposed that the original name of the people was Halisci, which was afterwards changed to Falisci, the change from H to F being, according to Servius, a common one in later times.[1] In spite of the tradition of their Greek origin, the speech of the Falisci was closely akin to Latin, with which Professor R. S. Conway groups it under the general name Latinian, to distinguish it from the other great group of ancient Italian language, the Osco-Umbrian or Safine, which comprises the language spoken by all the Samnite tribes, including the Samnites proper, the Hirpini, Lucani, Apuli, and others.[2] With regard to the traditionary founder of Falerii it is observed by Professor Conway that " the eponymous hero of Falerii is known in Latin records as *Halaesus*, whereas the Faliscan name, with its Sabine-Faliscan *f-* and the weaker form of the stem in the second syllable (*-is-* instead of *-aes-*) vouches at all events for a parallel form older than the separation of Latin and Faliscan, perhaps older than the separation of Latinian and Safine ".[3]

IV. 75. **Add to these Antenor, who advised the Trojans to make peace.**—It is said that after the fall of Troy the Trojan Antenor escaped to North Italy and there founded Patavium, the city which to this day retains its ancient name in the changed form, Padua. With him went a band of Eneti, a Paphlagonian people who had sided with the Trojans in the war. These settled in the country between the sea and the Alps, and were afterwards known as the Venetians (Veneti). So at least ran the tale in antiquity.[4] During the siege of his native city, Antenor had advised the Trojans to give up

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 695.

[2] R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. (Cambridge, 1926) pp. 448 *sq.*

[3] R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 458.

[4] Livy, i. 1. 1-3; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 242-249; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 1. 5; Solinus, ii. 10 Mela, ii. 60. As to the Eneti see Homer, *Il.* ii. 851 *sqq.*

Helen to the Greeks as the best way of making peace.[1] According to one story, Antenor betrayed Troy to the Greeks.[2]

IV. 76. **and (Diomedes) the Oenid, son-in-law to Apulian Daunus.**—After his return from the Trojan war, the valiant Diomedes, son of Tydeus and grandson of Oeneus, landed in Italy and was invited by Daunus or Daunius, king of the Daunians, to help him in his war with the Messapians on condition of receiving part of the kingdom, together with the hand of the king's daughter in marriage. Diomedes accepted the offer, married the king's daughter, and founded the city of Argyrippa in Apulia, naming it after Argos. In the war between Turnus and Aeneas, the stout old soldier, weary of war, refused to bear arms against his former foes the Trojans under Aeneas.[3] According to Strabo, the ancient name of Argyrippa was Argos Hippium, which in his time had been shortened to Arpi.[4] Off the neighbouring coast of the Adriatic there are two islands called the Diomedian Isles. In one of them it is said that Diomedes vanished away or was buried, and that his comrades were murdered by the barbarous Illyrians from across the sea. But by the will of Zeus the souls of the murdered Greeks were turned into herons; and thereafter, whenever a Greek ship put in to the island, the herons flew to it, greeted the mariners as friends, and even nestled in their bosoms; but if an Illyrian ship moored off the shore, the birds fled from it and deserted the island.[5] At the extreme northern recess of the Adriatic, fast by the springs of the Timavus river, Diomedes had a sanctuary, with a fine grove, and there the Heneti or Veneti sacrificed white horses to him.[6]

[1] Homer, *Il.* vii. 347-353; Livy, i. 1. 1; Horace, *Epist.* i. 2. 9.

[2] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 9. 1; compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 46. 1.

[3] Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 37; Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 225-295; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 457-464. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 603.

[4] Strabo, vi. 3. 9, p. 283.

[5] Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 37; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, i. 1. 1; Strabo, vi. 3. 9, p. 284; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 603; Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 172 (188); Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 271-274; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 271; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 484-509; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 127; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 16. Compare D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), p. 59. According to Virgil and Ovid, the transformation of the comrades of Diomedes into birds took place in the lifetime of the hero.

[6] Strabo, v. 1. 8-9, pp. 214 *sq.*

IV. 79. **He had a comrade Solymus . . . from him the walls of Sulmo take their name.**—This Trojan, Solymus, companion of Aeneas, seems to have been invented to explain the name of Sulmo, a town of the Pelignians in Central Italy, where Ovid was born. The foundation of Sulmo by Solymus or Solimus is mentioned also by Silius Italicus in some lines which were probably suggested by the present passage of Ovid.[1]

IV. 81. **cool Sulmo, my native town, Germanicus. Woe's me, how far is Sulmo from the Scythian land!**—These lines, which have a ring of genuine feeling, prove that the poem was either written or more probably revised by the poet in banishment. The thought of his native town, with its cool air and flowing water, nestling in a glen of the Apennines, struck home to the exile, dragging out the weary years on the bleak shores of the stormy Euxine, where he was fated to find a lonely grave. He often refers to Sulmo, and always, it would seem, with fond affection.[2]

IV. 85. **Some there are who grudge thee the honour of the month, and would snatch it from thee, Venus.**—Ovid now proceeds to notice the derivation of the name of April from the verb *aperire*, "to open". This etymology he scornfully rejects as a presumptuous and impious attempt to defraud Venus of the honour she derives from bestowing her name on the month, which, in the poet's opinion, is called April after Aphrodite, the Greek equivalent of Venus.[3]

IV. 90. **Venus claims the month and lays her hand on it.**—Ovid here employs a phrase borrowed from the law; for "the laying on of a hand" (*manus iniectio*) was a regular legal form, sanctioned by the ancient code of the Twelve Tables, whereby a creditor formally asserted his claim by laying his hand on his debtor.[4] The same legal phraseology was employed by Virgil[5] and by Ovid himself in other passages.[6]

[1] Silius Italicus, ix. 70-76.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 685 *sq.*, *Amores*, ii. 16. 1-10, iii. 15. 11-14, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 3 *sq.*

[3] See above, *Fasti*, iv. 61, with the note.

[4] Gaius, *Institutiones*, iv. 21; Aulus Gellius, xx. 1. 45; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 419; C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani antiqui*[7], i. 20; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], ii. 124 *sq.*; J. Ortolan, *Histoire de la Législation romaine*[10] (Paris, 1876), pp. 140, 668 *sq.*

[5] Virgil, *Aen.* x. 419.

[6] Ovid, *Heroides*, xii. 158, *Amores*, i. 4. 40.

IV. 91. **She indeed sways, and deserves to sway, the world entire.**—The glowing tribute which in the following lines Ovid pays to the power of love may have been suggested by the famous address to Venus with which Lucretius opens his great poem.[1]

IV. 119. **Venus . . . bore arms for Troy, what time she groaned at the spear wound inflicted on her dainty hand.**—In a fight between Diomedes and Aeneas before Troy, in which the Trojan champion was getting the worst of it, Venus (Aphrodite) intervened to save her son Aeneas and was bearing him away in her arms, when the doughty Diomedes, nothing daunted, rushed at her and wounded her in the hand with a thrust of his spear.[2] The wounded goddess was carried by Iris in the chariot of Ares to Olympus, where her mother Dione consoled her by recounting to her the like mishaps which other immortal gods had suffered at the hands of mortal men. She told how Otus and Ephialtes had bound the mighty Ares himself and shut him up in a brazen pot, where he languished thirteen months and might have died, if the arch-thief Hermes had not contrived to steal the imprisoned deity and restore him to liberty. Again, Hercules wounded Hera, the wife of Zeus, with a three-barbed arrow ; and down among the dead the same intrepid hero shot the lord of the infernal gaol, Hades himself, with an arrow in the shoulder.[3] A little further on in the *Iliad* we read how Diomedes stabbed Ares with his spear in the belly, and how the wounded war-god set up a roar that affrighted Greeks and Trojans alike ;[4] and again how the impious Lycurgus, not content with chasing the Bacchanals and smiting them with an ox-goad, so alarmed Bacchus himself that the god, all of a tremble, plunged into the sea for safety.[5] Again, Homer relates how the Olympian gods plotted to bind great Zeus himself, and how the deity was released from his bonds by the sea-goddess Thetis with the help of the hundred-handed giant Briareus, who was summoned to Olympus for the purpose.[6] However, Zeus could forcibly retaliate on the lesser deities when they grew too obstreperous. On

[1] Lucretius, i. 1 *sqq.*
[2] Homer, *Il.* v. 311-352.
[3] Homer, *Il.* v. 353-404.
[4] Homer, *Il.* v. 846-863.
[5] Homer, *Il.* vi. 130-137
[6] Homer, *Il.* i. 396-406.

one occasion he hanged his own wife Hera from heaven, with two anvils attached to her feet and golden fetters on her hands. There she dangled in the clouds,[1] and when her son Hephaestus would have come to her help, his angry father Zeus caught him by the foot and flung him clean over the heavenly battlements, so that he fell with a thud on the earth and was lame for the rest of his life.[2] These tales, extracted from what we may call the backstairs chronicle or Newgate Calendar of Olympus, are of interest as illuminating the thin and wavering line which in Greek thought parted the human from the divine. The lively Grecian felt himself akin to his deities in their weaknesses and frailties, while at the same time he revered them for their superhuman majesty and power.

IV. 121. **and by a Trojan's verdict she defeated two heavenly goddesses.** — In the contest between the three goddesses, Venus, Juno, and Minerva (Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena) for the golden apple of Discord, which was to be the prize of beauty, the Trojan Paris was appointed judge, and he awarded the prize to Venus.[3] Their defeat rankled deeply in the minds of Juno and Minerva (Hera and Athena), and in the war which followed the rape of Helen by Paris the two goddesses naturally took sides against the Trojans, while Venus (Aphrodite) as naturally favoured the Trojans, not only out of gratitude to Paris for the high compliment he had paid her, but because her mother's heart went out to the Trojan Aeneas, her son by Anchises. That was the secret of the long grudge which Juno bore to Aeneas and hence to his posterity the Romans, and centuries passed before she laid aside her enmity to these descendants of her ancient but unforgiven rival.[4] The famous judgement of Paris, which had such fatal results, is only once alluded to, but not fully described, by Homer in lines which were rejected as spurious by Aristarchus.[5]

[1] Homer, *Il.* xv. 18-24.

[2] Homer, *Il.* i. 590-594.

[3] Euripides, *Troades*, 924 *sqq.*, *Helen*, 23 *sqq.*, *Andromache*, 274 *sqq.*; Isocrates, *Helen*, 41-42; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, 21, *Dial. marin.* 5; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 2; Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi. 50-88; Hyginus, *Fab.* 92; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 27; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 93.

[4] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 41 *sqq.*

[5] Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 25-30.

IV. 122. **And she was called the bride of Assaracus's son.**—Ovid means to say that Venus was the bride of Anchises, whom by a slip of memory he here calls the son, instead of the grandson, of Assaracus. The father of Anchises was Capys, son of Assaracus.[1]

IV. 129. **Lovely Venus deserves the lovely season and is attached, as usual, to her dear Mars.**—The poet means that the vernal month of April is appropriately assigned to the goddess of love, and that it appropriately follows immediately on March, the month of her husband Mars. He expresses the same thought in his earlier poem, *The Art of Love*,[2] and Ausonius repeats it in a different form.[3]

IV. 133. **Duly do ye worship the goddess, ye Latin mothers and brides.**—The goddess in question is Venus, to whom the whole month of April was supposed to belong. In the calendar of Philocalus a festival of Venus (*Veneralia*) is recorded on the first of April.[4] In the Praenestine calendar under the first of April is a note to the effect that on that day "women in crowds supplicate Virile Fortune, and women of humbler rank do so even in the baths, because in them men expose that part of their person by which the favour of women is sought".[5] Mommsen is probably right in supposing that the mason who cut the inscription omitted by mistake three words, and that the complete note should run to the effect that "in crowds women of the better classes supplicate Venus the Changer of the Heart (*Venus Verticordia*), and women of humbler rank supplicate Virile Fortune even in the baths", etc.[6] This note, like the other notes in the Praenestine calendar, is most probably by the learned grammarian Verrius Flaccus, for Suetonius tells us that Verrius Flaccus caused his calendar to be inscribed on

[1] See note on *Fasti*, iv. 35.

[2] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 403 *sq.*, "*Sive dies suberit natalis, sive Kalendae, quas Venerem Marti continuasse iuvat*".

[3] Ausonius, *Eclog.* x. *De Mensibus*, 7 *sq.*, "*Aeneadum genetrix vicino nomen Aprili | das Venus: est Marti namque Aphrodita comes*".

[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 262, 314.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 235, 314.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 314. The complete note as restored by Mommsen runs thus: "*Frequenter mulieres supplicant <honestiores Veneri Verticordiae>, Fortunae Virili humiliores, etiam in balineis, quod in iis ea parte corporis utique viri nudantur, qua feminarum gratia desideratur.*" The words enclosed in brackets are inserted conjecturally by Mommsen.

the marble wall of a hemicycle in the forum at Praeneste.[1] Considerable fragments of the inscription have survived to this day and are one of our principal authorities on the Roman calendar.[2] Now Joannes Lydus, a Byzantine writer of the sixth century, who has left us a work on the Roman calendar, appears to have seen the complete note of Verrius Flaccus on the first of April, for he tells us that "on the Kalends of April women of rank worshipped Aphrodite (Venus) for the sake of concord and a chaste life, but the women of the proletariate bathed in the men's baths wearing wreaths of myrtle out of respect to the goddess".[3] More briefly Plutarch says that in April "women sacrifice to Aphrodite (Venus), and on the Kalends they bathe wearing wreaths of myrtle".[4] Probably these writers and Ovid drew their information from the work on the calendar by Verrius Flaccus, who is expressly cited by Macrobius as an authority for the worship of Venus by matrons in April.[5]

IV. 134. **and ye, too, who wear not the fillets and long robe.** —Ovid is addressing courtesans, who also worship Venus on the first of April. Women of that class were not allowed to wear the long robe (*stola*) and the fillets in the hair which were the dress and badge of modest women.[6]

IV. 136. **take off her gauds ; the goddess must be washed from top to toe.**—The custom of washing the images of the gods appears to have been common in antiquity. "The deities", observes Arnobius, "grow dirty, and to remove the dirt have need of water to wash them, with the addition of ashes to give them a rub down."[7] Hera bathed every year in the spring of Canathus at Nauplia, and by so doing she recovered her virginity;[8] nor is this surprising, for to this day there are said to be springs in Europe by bathing in which, especially on Midsummer Eve, women recover their virginity and old

[1] Suetonius, *De grammaticis*, 17.
[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 230-239.
[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 65, p. 119 ed. Wuensch.
[4] Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 2.
[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 15.
[6] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 32 *sq.*, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 3. 49-52, *Tristia*, ii. 247 *sq.*; Tibullus, i. 6. 67 *sq.*
[7] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 32, "*Sordescunt enim divi et ad sordes eluendas laventibus aquis opus atque adiuncta aliqua cineris frictione*".
[8] Pausanias, ii. 38. 2.

people their lost youth.[1] In Mesopotamia there was a spring in which, according to the natives, Hera bathed after her marriage with Zeus ;[2] and when she came back from hell, whither she had gone, down the steep path under the yew-trees' solemn shade, to gloat on the torments of the damned, Iris sprinkled her with pure water before she might return to heaven's sweet air.[3] After the great fire at Rome under Nero the temple and image of Juno on the Capitol were sprinkled with water brought from the sea in accordance with the directions of the Sibylline books.[4] And in the year 38 B.C., when an image of Virtue at Rome excited a general consternation by falling down flat on its face, the same sacred volumes prescribed that the image should be carried out to sea, plunged in the water, and kept there for a good while. The thing was done, but it was some time before the popular alarm subsided.[5] The rude image of the Mother of the Gods, which had been brought from Phrygia to Rome, was annually bathed, with great pomp and ceremony, in the waters of the Almo, as Ovid himself tells us a little further on.[6] Callimachus composed a hymn on the solemn bathing of the image of Athena.[7] At Olympia there was a sanctuary of Sosipolis, and the old woman who attended to it brought water for washing the god and barley cakes kneaded with honey for his consumption.[8] Some of the German tribes in antiquity worshipped Mother Earth under the title of Nerthus. The goddess rode in a chariot drawn by cows, and at certain times the chariot, with the goddess in it, was bathed in a secret lake ; but the slaves who waited on the divinity were drowned in the water.[9]

In India the practice of ceremonially washing or bathing the images of the gods is observed to this day. Thus at Udaipur in Rajputana the image of Gauri, the wife of Siva, " is ceremonially bathed in the lake in order to purify her

[1] K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz* (Leipzig, 1862–1863), i. 248.
[2] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 30.
[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 432-480.
[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44.
[5] Dio Cassius, xlviii. 43. 4-6.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 337 *sqq.*, with the note.
[7] Callimachus, *Hymn V.*
[8] Pausanias, vi. 20. 2.
[9] Tacitus, *Germania*, 40. On the custom of bathing images in antiquity see further J. Lomeier, *De veterum gentilium lustrationibus* (Ultraiecti, 1681), cap. xxvi. pp. 240 (244)-251.

from the pollution incurred during the preceding year and to fit her for her future fertilising task ".[1] Again, at Bhuvaneshwara a festival is celebrated when the great god Siva, represented by a small image, is put to bed for his long sleep of four months ; and at the expiry of that time there is another festival for the awakening of the deity from slumber. The image is then bathed, dressed, and worshipped.[2]

IV. 145. **Learn now why ye give incense to Virile Fortune in the place which reeks of warm water.**—By " the place which reeks of warm water " Ovid means the public baths of the men, in which, as we have seen, women of the lower sort bathed on the first of April.[3] The reason for propitiating the goddess in the public baths is explained by the poet in the following lines. His explanation agrees with that of Verrius Flaccus, from whom he probably borrowed it. Nothing further is known as to the worship of the goddess. But Plutarch, in his essay on the Fortune of the Romans, mentions a shrine of Virile Fortune beside an altar of Venus,[4] and he tells us that King Servius Tullius dedicated a sanctuary to the goddess under the same title.[5] This sanctuary is probably identical with the temple of Virile Fortune which, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, King Servius Tullius built on the banks of the Tiber.[6] The king was indeed a devout worshipper of Fortune, to whose favour he ascribed his own elevation from a humble rank to the throne.[7] However, in another passage of his essay on the Fortune of the Romans, Plutarch says that the first temple of Fortune at Rome was built by King Ancus Marcius.[8]

IV. 153. **when Venus was first escorted to her eager**

[1] W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 248; Lieut.-Col. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke (Oxford University Press, 1920), ii. 666-668.

[2] W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* [2] (Calcutta and Simla, N.D., preface dated 1900), pp. 133 *sq.*

[3] See above, *Fasti*, iv. 133, with the note, pp. 190 *sq.*

[4] Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 10.

[5] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 74.

[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 27. 7.

[7] Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 10; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 27. 7.

[8] Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 5. As to the worship of Fortune at Rome see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* [2], pp. 256 *sqq.*

spouse, she drank that draught: from that time she was a bride.—This legend appears not to be recorded by any other ancient writer. It suggests that a drink of milk, mixed with honey and pounded poppies, may have been regularly offered to a Roman, and possibly to a Greek, bride on her first arrival at her husband's house; for the gods are commonly supposed to practise the same customs as men, life in heaven being merely a glorified reflection of life on earth. In some parts of Calabria and Greece down to modern times, when the bridal procession arrives at the bridegroom's house, his mother gives the bride honey to eat or drink.[1] The relation of the poppy to Venus (Aphrodite) was clearly intimated in an image of the goddess in her sanctuary at Sicyon; for she was there represented holding a poppy in the one hand and an apple in the other.[2]

IV. 157. **In the time of our fathers Rome had fallen from a state of chastity.**—In the year 114 B.C., three Vestal Virgins, Aemilia, Licinia, and Marcia, were accused of unchastity, condemned, and put to death. A temple was dedicated to Venus, the Changer of the Heart, and, in obedience to the directions of the Sibylline Books, two Greeks and two Gauls were buried alive as a sacrifice to certain strange foreign deities for the purpose of averting the evil omen.[3] About a hundred years earlier, the Sibylline Books had directed that an image of Venus, Changer of the Heart, should be consecrated in order that the hearts of maids and matrons should be changed from lust to chastity. A certain matron, named Sulpicia, wife of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus (consul in 237, 224, and 213 B.C.), was chosen out of a hundred matrons, for her pre-eminent virtue, to dedicate the image.[4] Some people

[1] Vincenzo Dorsa, *La Tradizione Greco-Latina negli Usi e nelle Credenze della Calabria Citeriore*[2] (Cosenza, 1884), p. 86; C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* (Bonn, 1864), p. 95; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*[5], ii. 489.

[2] Pausanias, ii. 10. 5.

[3] Livy, *Per.* lxiii.; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 37 (97), p. 163 ed. Rossbach; Orosius, v. 15. 22; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 83. Plutarch is the only one of our authorities who mentions the burial alive of the Greeks and Gauls. Compare J. S. Reid, "Human Sacrifices at Rome". *Journal of Roman Studies*, ii. (1912) pp. 36 *sq.*; Fr. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* (Giessen, 1915), pp. 148 *sqq.*

[4] Valerius Maximus, viii. 15. 12; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 120; Solinus, i. 126; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 290 note [11].

thought that the temple of Venus, Changer of the Heart, was in a grove of myrtle-trees near the Circus Maximus ;[1] but in this they seem to have confused the goddess with another goddess named Murcia, who had a shrine (*sacellum*) near the Circus, and whom the Romans interpreted as Murtea Venus, that is, Myrtle Venus,[2] though in fact she appears to have been an independent goddess of unknown origin. Murcia is probably to be identified with the Mursine Mother (*Mater Mursina*), whose name has been found engraved in very archaic letters on a bronze strainer.[3] To add to the confusion, there was, near the Circus, a temple of Venus, which in the year 295 B.C., a certain Quintus Fabius Gurges, son of the consul for that year, caused to be built out of fines levied on matrons for unchastity ;[4] the temple was dedicated on the 19th of August ;[5] in it the goddess bore the title of *Obsequens*, that is, Compliant or Complacent.[6] The same epithet is applied to Venus in an inscription found at Terracina.[7]

IV. 163. **While I speak, the Scorpion, the tip of whose swinged tail strikes fear, plunges into the green waters.**— Ovid means that the constellation of the Scorpion sets on the first of April, and though he does not say whether he refers to the morning or the evening setting of the constellation, we may assume that he meant the morning setting, for Columella says definitely that " on the Calends of April the Scorpion (*Nepa*) sets at morning ".[8] But both Ovid and Columella were far out in their reckoning, for in the poet's time the true morning setting of the Scorpion did not take place till the

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 636.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 154 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Murciae deae ", p. 135 ed. Lindsay ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 121 ; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 8 ; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 16.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 9233. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 113 *sq.* ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 404 ; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 242.

[4] Livy, x. 31. 8 ; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 114.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Rustica vinalia ", p. 322 ed. Lindsay ; *Fasti Vallenses*, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 240, 325 ; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 12.

[6] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 720.

[7] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3169[a]. Compare G. Wissowa, " De Veneris simulacris Romanis ", *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 8.

[8] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 34.

26th of April, and the apparent setting not till the 13th of May.[1]

IV. 169. **the Pleiades will commence to lighten the burden that rests on their father's shoulders.**—The stars in the constellation of the Pleiades were commonly thought to be the daughters of Atlas, who bore the sky on his shoulders; hence, when they set they lightened the burden that weighed so heavily on his back. The ancients reckoned the stars of the constellation as seven in number, but said that one of them was either very dim or quite invisible. There was a general agreement as to the names of the Pleiades; Aratus and Apollodorus, for example, give the same names in the same order, and their list agrees with that of Ovid in the present passage. However, with the exception of Maia, an entirely different list of names is given by a scholiast on Theocritus, who tells us further, on the authority of Callimachus, that they were the daughters of the Queen of the Amazons.[2] Much diversity of opinion prevailed as to the origin of the name Pleiades. Some derived it from the name of their mother, Pleione; others, with more probability, deduced it from the Greek verb *plein*, "to sail", because in the Mediterranean these stars were visible at night during the summer, from the middle of May till the beginning of November, which coincided with the sailing season in antiquity. Opinions were also divided as to why one of the seven stars was invisible. Two theories, equally probable, were propounded. Some thought that Electra, mother of Dardanus, took the fall of Troy so deeply to heart that she buried her face in her hands for sorrow; others opined that Merope, who had married a mere man, Sisyphus, was so ashamed of her humble, though honest, lot by comparison with the guilty splendour of her sisters, who were all of them light-o'-loves of gods, that she could not bear to show her face in the sky, and hid her blushes in her hands. Both these views are here impartially stated by Ovid, who leaves his readers to choose between

[1] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 159 *sq.* See above, *Fasti*, iii. 711 *sq.*, with the note, pp. 130 *sq.*

[2] Scholiast on Theocritus, xiii. 25.

them.[1] The sorrowful or shamefaced Pleiad, who hid her light, is identified by modern astronomers with Celaeno, a star of almost the seventh magnitude, which can be seen now, as in antiquity, in clear, moonless nights by persons endowed with unusually keen sight.[2] The Sema Nagas of Assam seem generally to notice only the six larger stars of the constellation, but they say that there used to be seven of them. Yet in their latitude the stars of this cluster, though small, are very bright and clear, and we are told that "it is often possible to count seven and sometimes nine of them, though all do not seem to be visible at the same moment". The Sema Nagas say that the Pleiades were a company of pretty girls, who were spinning and brewing liquor in a rich man's house, when they were killed in a sudden raid, but they still dance in the sky, as they did of old on earth.[3]

It is remarkable that the constellation of the Pleiades, though it is inconspicuous in the sky, nevertheless plays an important part in the calendars of primitive peoples both in the northern and the southern hemispheres; indeed, savages appear to have paid more attention to this constellation than to any other group of stars in the sky; in particular, they often time the operations of husbandry by observation of its heliacal rising and setting.[4]

IV. 172. **they say that Sterope lay with Mars.**—According to one account, Sterope had by Ares (Mars) a son Oenomaus, king of Pisa;[5] but according to another account she was not the mother but the wife of Oenomaus, and in that

[1] As to the Pleiades, their number, their names, and their myth, see Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 254-268; Diodorus Siculus, iii. 60. 4-5; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 23; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 10 (16); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 226; Quintus Smyrnaeus, xiii. 551-560; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id.*, *Fab.* 192; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173, p. 397 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[2] A. von Humboldt, *Cosmos*, translated by E. Sabine, iii. 47 *sq.*

[3] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), pp. 250 *sq.*

[4] R. Andree, "Die Pleiaden im Mythus und in ihrer Beziehung zum Jahresbeginn und Landbau," *Globus*, lxiv. (1893), pp. 362-366; *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 307-319; Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-reckoning* (Lund, 1920), pp. 114 *sqq.*, 129 *sqq.*, 275 *sq.*

[5] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 23; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id.*, *Fab.* 84 and 250; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173, p. 397 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

character she was represented in the front gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.[1]

IV. 173. **Alcyone and fair Celaeno with Neptune.**—It is said that Alcyone had a daughter, Aethusa, and two sons, Hyrieus and Hyperenor, by Poseidon (Neptune); and that her sister, Celaeno, had by the same god a son, Lycus, whom his divine father made to dwell in the Islands of the Blest.[2]

IV. 175. **the seventh, Merope, was married to a mortal man, to Sisyphus.**—It is said that she had by Sisyphus a son, Glaucus.[3] According to one account, her proud sisters expelled Merope from their company for her base conduct in marrying a mortal man; and she, mourning over her fallen estate, let her hair hang down over her face, and her long tresses are what men call a comet, which is always a sign of sorrow.[4] But, according to others, a comet is the streaming hair of Merope's sad sister, Electra, weeping for the fall of Troy.[5]

IV. 179. **Let the sky revolve thrice on its never-resting axis.**—The ancients believed that the sky revolved perpetually round the earth, carrying the stars with it,[6] and that it completed a revolution in a day; hence three revolutions of the sky were equivalent to three days. This poetical expression is varied by the poet in the next line, where he speaks of the Sun (Titan) as thrice yoking and thrice unyoking the horses that drew his car across the sky.[7]

IV. 181. **the Berecyntian flute will blow a blast on its bent horn, and the festival of the Idaean Mother will have come.**—Ovid means that on the fourth of April was celebrated the festival of Cybele, the great Asiatic goddess, who was also known as the Mother of the Gods and the Idaean Mother. On this day (the fourth of April) Verrius Flaccus has the

[1] Pausanias, v. 10.6; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 1; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21.

[2] Apollodorus, iii. 10. 1. Compare Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 23; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21.

[3] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486.

[4] Hyginus, *Fab.* 192.

[5] Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486.

[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 70 *sq.*, "*Adde quod assidua rapitur vertigine caelum*|, *sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet*"; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 250, "*Vertitur interea caelum*"; Manilius, i. 181, "*Qua cadat et subeat caelum rursusque resurgat*".

[7] For the sun as Titan see *Fasti*, i. 617, with the note.

following note in the Praenestine calendar: "Games in honour of the Mother of the Gods, the Great Idaean Goddess, are called *Megalensia*, because that goddess is named *Megale* (Great). Mutual invitations to banquets are wont to be commonly exchanged between noble families because, in accordance with the Sibylline Books, she was fetched and changed her home from Phrygia to Rome."[1] In the Maffeian calendar also the "Games of the Great Mother" are recorded under the fourth of April.[2] The festival is called Megalesia by Ovid,[3] as by Varro and Cicero.[4] Livy calls it Megalesia in two places, but Megalensia in one,[5] and this latter form, which is supported by Verrius Flaccus in the Praenestine calendar, is employed also by Arnobius.[6] As games (*ludi*), under which the Romans included both spectacles in the Circus and plays in the theatre, formed the most conspicuous and probably the most important feature of the celebrations, the festival was sometimes referred to as the Megalesian or Megalensian games (*ludi Megaleses* or *Megalenses*).[7] In the calendar of Philocalus, under the fourth of April, the festival is called the Megalesiac games;[8] and Juvenal applies the same adjective, Megalesiac, to the handkerchief which the presiding magistrate dropped at the chariot-race in the Circus as the signal to start.[9] The solemn and religious character of the games is attested by Cicero, who says that they were celebrated on the Palatine in front of the temple and in the very view of the Great Mother

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 235, 314; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8844[a], "*Ludi M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(deae) Megalensia vocantur, quod ea dea megale appellatur. Nobilium mutitationes cenarum solitae sunt frequenter fieri, quod Mater magna ex libris Sibullinis arcessita locum mutavit ex Phrygia Romam*".

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 224, 314; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8744 (vol. ii. pars ii. p. 989), "*Ludi Matr. mag.*"

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 357.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 15; Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, §§ 22, 24, 26.

[5] Livy, xxix. 14. 14 (*Megalensia*), xxxiv. 54. 3 (*Megalesia*), xxxvi. 36. 4 (*Megalesia*).

[6] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 33.

[7] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 6; Aulus Gellius, ii. 24. 2; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 6.

[8] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 262, 314.

[9] Juvenal, xi. 193-194, "*Interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae | Idaeum solemne colunt*". As to the name of the festival compare H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* (Paris, 1912), p. 81.

herself ; [1] but in saying so, he must have been speaking with oratorical licence, for, while the temple of the goddess was certainly on the Palatine,[2] the games were held in the Circus and the theatre, which were down in the flat.

The coming of the Great Goddess or the Idaean Mother from Phrygia to Rome is fully described by Ovid later on in this book.[3] According to the text of Livy, she arrived in Rome on the twelfth of April ("*pridie idus Apriles*") in the year 204 B.C. ; [4] but the passage should probably be emended to mean on the fourth of April ("*pridie nonas Apriles*"),[5] since, on the testimony of Ovid and the ancient calendars, that was certainly the day of her festival, and it is natural to suppose that the festival was timed to coincide with the day of her arrival.

The mutual invitations to banquets, which Verrius Flaccus mentions as a feature of the festival, are noticed by Ovid later on and explained by him in the same way.[6]

By " the Berecyntian flute " in the present passage, our author means no more than " the Phrygian flute " ; the two adjectives were applied to the instrument indiscriminately.[7] The Berecyntes were a Phrygian tribe who, like the Phrygians in general and the Trojans of Mount Ida, worshipped the same goddess under a variety of titles, such as the Mother of the Gods, the Great Phrygian Goddess, Cybele, Agdistis, the Idaean Goddess, the Dindymenian Goddess, the Sipylenian Goddess, and the Pessinuntian Goddess, the latter names being derived from the particular places in which she was adored.[8] The Phrygian flute employed in the worship of Cybele was composed of two pipes of unequal length, the shorter of them being straight, while the longer terminated in a curved piece like a horn or the bowl of a pipe. It is to this terminal horn, which is clearly represented on some of the monuments, that Ovid refers in the present passage. The longer and curved pipe was held in the left hand, the shorter and straight pipe was held in the right. The proper Greek name of this form of double flute, or rather pipe, was *elymos*.

[1] Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 12. 24.
[2] See below, pp. 249 *sqq*.
[3] *Fasti*, iv. 247 *sqq*.
[4] Livy, xxix. 14. 14.
[5] Th. Mommsen in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 314.
[6] *Fasti*, iv. 353-356.
[7] Strabo, x. 3. 17, p. 471.
[8] Strabo, x. 3. 12, p. 469.

It was made of boxwood and was said to have been invented by the Phrygians.[1] Elsewhere Ovid repeats his description of "the Berecyntian flute with its bent horn" in almost identical terms;[2] and in another passage he speaks of the fluteplayer discoursing his music "before the Mother of the Gods on his bent horn",[3] thus dropping the mention of the pipe itself and concentrating attention on its curved extremity, which probably emitted a deeper and more sonorous note than the pipe which lacked this adjunct. Similarly Horace speaks indifferently of the Berecyntian flute[4] and the Berecyntian horn,[5] as if the two expressions were equivalent. In the same sense Virgil describes "the Berecyntian boxwood of the Idaean Mother" calling to her worshippers,[6] where the poet substitutes the material of the pipe for the pipe itself.

IV. 183. **Eunuchs will march and beat their hollow drums, and cymbals clashed on cymbals will give out their tinkling notes.**—The noisy processions of the eunuch priests of Cybele, in their quaint Oriental garb, with their droning drums, clashing cymbals, and blood streaming from their self-inflicted wounds, presented a strange spectacle in the streets of Rome, and were witnessed by the grave Romans with mingled curiosity and disgust; though few people refused to throw coppers to these dervishes, while the more pious dropped silver into their extended palms, and buried them and the image of their divine mistress in a snow of white roses.[7] These processions survived the establishment of Christianity, for Augustine remembered, as if it were yesterday,

[1] Pollux, iv. 74; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐγκεραυλής; Athenaeus, iv. 79 and 84, pp. 176 f-177 a, 185 a; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 618, quoting Varro; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, v. 1. p. 312, *s.v.* "Tibia"; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], ii. 841, *s.v.* "Tibia"; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 560, *s.v.* "Flöten"; H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 255 *sq.*

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 16, "*Infracto Berecyntia tibia cornu*"; compare *id.* iv. 392, "*Adunco tibia cornu*".

[3] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 1. 39-40, "*Ante deum Matrem cornu tibicen adunco| cum canit*".

[4] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 19. 18 *sq.*, iv. 1. 22 *sq.*

[5] Horace, *Odes*, i. 18. 13 *sq.*

[6] Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 619 *sq.*

[7] Lucretius, ii. 610 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 1. 39 *sq.*; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 19; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 32. Compare Catullus, lxiii. 1 *sqq.*; Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 9. 22, ii. 16. 40 (as to the alms).

the sight of these effeminate priests parading the streets and squares of Carthage with whitened faces, scented hair, and mincing gait, while, like the begging friars of the Middle Ages, they begged alms from the passers-by.[1] But down to the beginning at least of our era, the priest and priestess of Cybele were Phrygians born ; Roman citizens were forbidden by law to assume the Phrygian garb and to participate in the orgiastic rites of the Phrygian goddess.[2]

IV. 190. **the bent flute's thrilling drone.**—Here the poet substitutes the name of the wood (*lotus*, the nettle-tree), of which the flute was made, for the flute itself. Similarly Silius Italicus speaks of the Mygdonian *lotus* and the Phrygian *lotus*, when he means the Mygdonian flute and the Phrygian flute ; [3] and Virgil, as we have seen, employs the expression Berecyntian boxwood in the sense of a flute made of that wood.[4] The hard wood of the nettle-tree is still employed for musical instruments, and in Sicily the tree is still called *lotu*.[5]

IV. 191. **The Cybelean goddess spied her learned granddaughters.**—" The Cybelean goddess " is Cybele herself, who was said to take her name from a mountain called Cybelum or Cybela, where at birth she had been exposed and suckled by wild beasts.[6] Ovid mentions it among the mountains which the goddess loved.[7] The " learned granddaughters " of Cybele are the Muses ; for they were the daughters of Zeus,[8] and Rhea, the mother of Zeus, was often identified with Cybele, the great goddess of Phrygia.[9] That Ovid identified Cybele with Rhea is plain from the following narrative, in which he sets forth the mythical origin of the clangorous music in which the goddess delighted ; for the goddess of the story is Rhea, whom the poet clearly looked on as Cybele under another name.

[1] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 26.
[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 19. 4-5.
[3] Silius Italicus, viii. 506, xi. 432.
[4] Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 619.
[5] Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3] (Cambridge, 1921), p. 68.
[6] Diodorus Siculus, iii. 58. 1-2 ; Strabo, xii. 5. 3, p. 567 ; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Κυβελόν, p. 542 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Cybele ", p. 45 ed. Lindsay.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 249.
[8] Hesiod, *Theog.* 75 *sq.*, 915-917 ; Apollodorus, i. 3. 1.
[9] Strabo, x. 3. 15, p. 470 ; L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*[4], bearbeitet von C. Robert, i. 638 *sqq.*

IV. 195. **Erato did thus reply (it fell to her to speak of Venus' month, because her own name is derived from tender love).**—The Muse Erato, whose name is derived from *eros*, "love", was the goddess of amorous poetry; hence Apollonius Rhodius naturally invoked her when he was about to sing of the love of Jason for Medea,[1] and Virgil called upon her when he addressed himself to the story of the wooing of Lavinia by Aeneas.[2] In his *Art of Love* our author himself appropriately prayed to Erato, along with Venus and Cupid, to favour him, "for that thy name is Love".[3] So, too, when Athenaeus was about to open the subject of love, he invoked the help of Erato, borrowing the very words which Apollonius Rhodius had employed for that purpose centuries before.[4] It was therefore perfectly appropriate that in a question which concerned the month of Venus the poet of the Roman calendar should apply for information to Erato.

IV. 197. **Saturn was given this oracle: "Thou best of kings, thou shalt be ousted of thy sceptre by thy son."**—The following barbarous tale of Saturn and his offspring is first recorded by Hesiod. It is said that when Cronus (Saturn) reigned in heaven he was informed by Earth and Sky that he was destined to be deposed by his own offspring. To prevent this catastrophe the unnatural parent swallowed his children, one after the other, as fast as his wife Rhea brought them forth. In this way he dispatched Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Pluto, and Hades. But when Rhea was next in child with Zeus, the youngest of the family, she besought her parents, Sky and Earth, to tell her how she could preserve her next born from his father's devouring maw. So by their advice, when she was about to give birth to Zeus, she went to Crete and was there delivered of the divine child. No sooner was he born than Earth took him in her arms and carried and hid him in a cave on Mount Aegeum or Mount Dicte; and there the armed Curetes guarded him, clashing their spears on their shields in order that his father Cronus should not hear

[1] Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 1 *sqq.*, with the Scholia; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 7. 4; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 14. 7.
[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 37.
[3] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 15 *sq.*
[4] Athenaeus, xiii. 1, p. 555 a-b.

the infant's squalls and hurrying to the spot devour him. Meantime his mother Rhea wrapped a stone in swaddling-clothes and gave it to Cronus, who bolted it in the belief that it was his son Zeus, and that he would consequently have nothing more to fear on his part. However, when Zeus was full grown he contrived to give his father a dose, which forced him to spew up, first, the stone and afterwards all the children whom he had swallowed ; and with their help Zeus made war on Cronus and the Titans, overcame them, and shut them up in Tartarus, a place as far beneath the earth as the earth is beneath the sky ; for if a brazen anvil were dropped from heaven, it would fall for nine nights and days and would reach earth on the tenth day ; and similarly if a brazen anvil were dropped from earth it would fall for nine nights and days and would reach Tartarus on the tenth day.[1] This story Ovid tells for the purpose of explaining the eunuch priests of Cybele and their noisy music ; for he takes them to be the lineal representatives of the Curetes, who guarded the infant Zeus (Jupiter) and, by clashing their weapons, saved him from sharing the fate of his elder brothers and sisters.

IV. 204. **A stone concealed in a garment went down his heavenly throat.**—In a temple of Hera at Plataea there was a statue of Pentelic marble by Praxiteles, which represented Rhea bringing the stone, wrapped in swaddling-bands, to Cronus (Saturn) for him to swallow instead of the child.[2] The subject is represented in relief on one side of a marble base or altar which was formerly at Albano and is now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. On the other three sides of the base are sculptured other scenes from the life of Zeus (Jupiter).[3] Again, the deception practised by Rhea on Cronus (Saturn) is depicted on a red-figured vase of Sicilian workmanship. Cronus is seen standing wrapt in an ample robe, his left hand resting on a sceptre ; opposite him is Rhea

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.* 453-500, 713-735; Apollodorus, i. 1. 5-7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139.
[2] Pausanias, ix. 2. 7.
[3] Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. pl. lxii. fig. 804; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 798, fig. 862; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, ii. 326; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] (Leipzig, 1912), i. 485, No. 864.

with the stone, and at the side are two young women, probably the nymphs, Ida and Adrastia, to whose care, jointly with the Curetes, the infant Zeus (Jupiter) was committed.[1] Various places in Greece claimed to be the very spot where Cronus swallowed the stone instead of the child. One was Mount Thaumasius in Arcadia ; on the top of the mountain was a grotto which only women sacred to Rhea might enter.[2] The inhabitants of Chaeronea, in Boeotia, professed that the pious fraud was perpetrated on a crag above their city.[3] But the Delphians could show with pride the actual stone which the god had swallowed and disgorged ; every day they poured oil on it, and at festivals they wrapped it in unspun wool.[4] However, if all tales are true, the stone was not the first object which the cunning Rhea palmed off on her simple-minded husband instead of a child. Near Nestane in Arcadia there was a spring called Arne or the Lamb beside the high road, and concerning it the Arcadians told how when Rhea had brought forth Poseidon, an elder brother of Zeus, she set him down at the spring to live with the lambs that cropped the grass about it, but she told Cronus that she had been delivered of a horse, and she gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child.[5]

It is possible that the story of the sky-god Cronus, who first swallowed and then disgorged his children, is a myth of the sky which seems to swallow the stars by day and then to disgorge them by night. At all events there is a widespread story that the Moon persuaded the Sun to swallow his children, the stars, but hid her own children, the stars, by day from the Sun, who would have devoured them. Thus the Mantras, a savage Malay tribe of Malacca, believe that the sun and moon are women. " The stars are the children of the moon, and the sun had formerly as many. But since they feared that mankind could not support so much brightness and heat, they each agreed to devour their children. The moon, however, instead of eating her stars, hid them from the sight of the sun, who, believing them to be all

[1] J. de Witte, " Cronus et Rhea ", *Gazette Archéologique*, i. (1875) pp. 30-33, with pl. 9.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 36. 3.

[3] Pausanias, ix. 41. 6.

[4] Pausanias, x. 24. 6.

[5] Pausanias, viii. 8. 1-2. Compare Festus, *s.v.* " Hippius ", p. 90 ed. Lindsay ; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 12.

devoured, ate up her own. No sooner had she done so, however, than the moon brought her own family out of their hiding-places, and the sun on seeing them was filled with despair and rage, and gave chase to the moon in order to kill her. This chase has continued ever since, the sun sometimes succeeding in getting near enough to the moon to bite her, and thus causing an eclipse. The moon still hides all her children during the day when her pursuer is near, and only brings them out at night when she is distant." [1]

Similarly the Kols of Chota Nagpore, in India, say that " after the creation of man, Sing Bonga, or the sun, married Chandoo Omol, or the moon, from whence sprung four sons and numerous daughters. Now the four sons kept with their father, and the daughters lived with their mother, and as the sun rose every day with his four hot, fiery sons in addition, the whole world began to burn ; and all the animals and man perishing with heat, entreated the moon to save them ; so the moon resolved within herself to destroy the sun's sons, and went, and accosting the father, said, ' Our children do much harm to the world, and will soon destroy your labour. I am determined to eat mine ; do you also devour yours.' The sun promised he would follow the moon's example ; and so when she hid all her daughters, and came and told him she had devoured them, he destroyed and eat all four of his children ; after which the moon released her daughters from confinement. This artifice so enraged the sun, that he drew his sword and cut the moon in half, but repenting afterwards of his anger, allowed her to get whole in certain days, though she still remained condemned to be in half at others, and so she remained, and all her daughters with her, which are the stars." [2]

The same story is told by the Turi, a non-Aryan caste of cultivators in the Central Provinces of India, though they belong to the Chota Nagpore tableland. " The principal deity of the caste is Singbonga, the sun, and according to

[1] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay States* (London, 1906), ii. 320.

[2] Lieut. Tickell, " Memoir on Hodésum (improperly called Kolehan) ", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, ix. Part II. (Calcutta, 1840) p. 797 ; R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology* (London, 1859), ii. 422 (quoting from Tickell).

one of their stories the sun is female. They say that the sun and moon were two sisters, both of whom had children, but when the sun gave out great heat the moon was afraid that her children would be burnt up, so she hid them in a *handi* or earthen pot. When the sun missed her sister's children she asked her where they were, and the moon replied that she had eaten them up ; on which the sun also ate up her own children. But when night came the moon took her children out of the earthen pot and they spread out in the sky and became the stars. And when the sun saw this she was greatly angered and vowed that she would never look on the moon's face again. And it is on this account that the moon is not seen in the daytime, and as the sun ate up all her children there are no stars during the day." [1]

Substantially the same story is told by the Ho, a Ewe-speaking negro people of Togo, in West Africa. They say that one day the moon proposed to the sun that they should together kill and eat their children. The sun fell in with the proposal and was the first to give up her children. She and the moon killed and ate the sun's children. But when it came to the moon's turn to give up his children, he took them and hid them in a great water-pot. But next evening he let all his children out of the pot again. The sun was thus deceived and therefore from that moment has had no more children. The children of the moon, that is, the stars, on the contrary, are all there to this day. Hence it comes that God loves the sun but not the moon, God's wicked child.[2]

It is remarkable that a myth should be told in forms so similar by peoples scattered so widely apart from each other half round the world. The Kol and the Turi versions have doubtless a common origin, but so far as appears the Malay and African versions are unrelated and may have been suggested independently by the contemplation of the same celestial phenomena.

IV. 207. **Now rang steep Ida loud and long with clangorous**

[1] R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), iv. 591.

[2] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme : Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo* (Berlin, 1906), p. 557.

music.—The ancients were much in doubt as to the birthplace of Zeus (Jupiter). According to Pausanias, "to enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them would be impracticable even if the attempt were seriously made".[1] In his ode to Zeus the learned poet Callimachus frankly confesses his doubt as to the conflicting claims, and mentions, among the places which piqued themselves on being the scene of the nativity, the mountains of Ida and Dicte in Crete and Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia. On the whole Callimachus accepted the Arcadian and dismissed the Cretan tradition, on the ground that the Cretans were always liars; did they not show the grave of Zeus, though everybody knows that Zeus never died, being immortal?[2] Nevertheless the Cretan claim appears to have been the more generally adopted by ancient writers, though they differed as to whether the god was born, or at all events brought up, in a cave on Mount Ida or in a cave on Mount Dicte. Ovid here decides in favour of Mount Ida, and he is supported by Statius and his commentator Lactantius Placidus.[3] On the other hand the mythographer Apollodorus declares for a cave on Mount Dicte,[4] and herein he is supported by the Babylonian Agathocles[5] and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[6] as well as by Virgil, his commentator Servius, and the Vatican mythographers.[7] Diodorus attempts to harmonize the two narratives of the nativity by saying that the god's mother Rhea brought him forth on Mount Dicte and gave him to the Curetes of Mount Ida to nurture.[8] According to Hesiod, the infant Zeus was carried by Earth to Lyctus in

[1] Pausanias, iv. 33. 1.

[2] Callimachus, *Hymns*, I. *To Zeus*, 1 *sqq.* As to the birth of Zeus on Mount Lycaeus compare Pausanias, viii. 36. 2-3, viii. 38. 2.

[3] Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784 (792 ed. Klotz); Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *l.c.* p. 253 ed. Jahnke.

[4] Apollodorus, i. 1. 5.

[5] Cited by Athenaeus, ix. 18, p. 375 f.

[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 61. 2.

[7] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 153; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode (Cellis, 1834), vol. i. pp. 34, 79, First Vatican Mythographer, 104, Second Vatican Mythographer, 16. On the various mountains which claimed to be the birthplace of Zeus see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 148 *sqq.*, ii. 925 *sqq.*

[8] Diodorus Siculus, v. 70. 2.

Crete and hidden in a cave on the thickly wooded Mount Aegeum.[1]

This last cave is probably to be identified with the now famous Psychro cavern on Mount Lasithi, a mountain over 6000 feet high, in the interior of Crete, situated about midway between Mount Ida on the west and Mount Dicte on the east. For the two mountains which competed with each other for the honour of being the birthplace of Zeus were far apart, Mount Ida lying about the centre of the island and Mount Dicte towards its eastern extremity near the ancient city of Prásus or Praesus, where was the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus.[2] The cave of Psychro is situated about four and a half hours' walk south from the ruins of Lyctus or Lyttus,[3] with which it is connected by an ancient road that can still be traced. Thus it answers well to the description of Hesiod, and we may safely identify Mount Lasithi with the ancient Mount Aegeum. The cave opens on the mountain-side a little above the village of Psychro. It consists of two grottos, an upper and a lower, connected with each other by a steep but not very long descent. The lower grotto includes a pool of icy water, out of which rises a forest of stalactite pillars. The cavern was discovered by peasants about 1883 and explored for the first time in 1886 by the Italian archaeologist Professor Halbherr. It was finally excavated by members of the British School at Athens, under the direction of D. G. Hogarth, in the summer of 1900. The remains of animal sacrifices and the numerous votive offerings in bronze and pottery found in the cave prove that the place was a seat of religious worship as early as the Minoan period of Cretan civilization. In the upper grotto is an altar of roughly squared stones, and here, among ashes and carbonized matter, were disinterred the skulls and bones of oxen, goats, sheep, deer, swine, and dogs, attesting a practice of burnt sacrifice. Among the votive objects discovered in the cave, some in the upper and some in the lower grotto, were bronze weapons and implements, including

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.* 477-484.

[2] Strabo, x. 4. 12, p. 478.

[3] The city is called Lyctus by Homer (*Il.* ii. 647) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 477); but in inscriptions the name of the people is given as Lyttii (Λύττιοι). See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], Nos. 527, 627.

bronze knives and pins, a bronze tablet with figures, a little two-wheeled chariot of bronze drawn by an ox and a ram, small round shields, miniature double axes of bronze, engraved gems, hundreds of little plain earthenware cups, many sherds of Minoan or Mycenaean painted pottery, pieces of large unpainted jars, and many fragments of stone libation tablets, several of which are inscribed with Minoan characters. The fragments of libation tablets were found thickest round the altar in the upper grotto, and the double axes were all discovered in crevices of the stalactite pillars in the lower grotto. Round about the altar, too, in the upper layer were brought to light swords, knives, axes, and bracelets of iron, together with remains of the earliest sort of Hellenic pottery, proving that the veneration for the cave had persisted from the bronze age to the iron age, from the time of the Minoan to the time of the classical Greek civilization. No wonder if the Greek newcomers beheld in this cave of immemorial sanctity the birthplace of their great god Zeus.[1]

Some scholars have identified Mount Lasithi with the ancient Mount Dicte and the double grotto on it with the Dictaean cave. But cogent arguments against this view have been urged by J. Toutain and others; in particular, Strabo places Mount Dicte at the eastern extremity of the island, near the ancient city of Prasus or Praesus, where he expressly tells us was the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus. The geographer here takes occasion to correct Aratus, who had said that Dictum (Dicte) was near Mount Ida.[2] No, says Strabo, Dicte is near Praesus and distant a thousand stades from Ida.[3] The evidence of the geographer is confirmed

[1] As to the Psychro cave see (Sir) A. J. Evans, "Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii. (1897) pp. 350-361; D. G. Hogarth, "The Dictaean cave", *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vi. (1899–1900) pp. 94-116; J. Toutain, "Archéologie religieuse de la Crète ancienne", *Études de Mythologie et d'Histoire* (Paris, 1909), pp. 160-164; R. Dussaud, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Égée* (Paris, 1914), pp. 328-330; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 530-532, 925-927; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), pp. 55-58.

[2] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 33.

[3] Strabo, x. 4. 12, p. 478. In the manuscripts of Strabo the name of the town is *Prasos* and the name of the people *Prasioi*. But in inscriptions the name of the people is *Praisioi*. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], Nos. 524, 685; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, Nos. 440, 441, 442.

by inscriptions. For in a decree of the people of Praesus it is enacted that the chief magistrate of the city shall annually swear by "Dictaean Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, Pythian Apollo and all the gods and goddesses".[1] Again, the people of Itanus, a city in the extreme east of Crete, the ruins of which are to be seen at Palaikastro, in like manner solemnly swore by "Dictaean Zeus, and Hera and the gods in Dicte".[2] Again, in a long inscription containing an award of the Magnesians on a dispute between the Itanians and the Hierapytnians, who inhabited a city Hieropytna on the coast of Crete farther to the west, it is expressly said that the Itanians possessed "land on the sea coast which bordered on the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus"; that sacred laws, enforced by curses and penalties, forbade any one to pasture or encamp or sow or cut wood within the holy precinct of the god; that the people of Praesus were neighbours of the Itanians; that Praesus lay midway between Itanus and Hieropytna; and that according to the Hierapytnians a certain piece of land, to which they and the Itanians laid claim, was sacred to Dictaean Zeus.[3] Again at Palaikastro, near the eastern extremity of Crete, was discovered the now famous hymn to Zeus, in which the great god is invited to come to Dicte for his yearly festival.[4] Taken altogether the evidence seems to prove that Mount Dicte, with the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus, was situated towards the eastern end of Crete, near the cities of Praesus and Itanus. But the sacred cave of Zeus on the mountain has not yet been discovered.

It is otherwise with Mount Ida, the central mountain of Crete, which rises to a height of over 8000 feet, for on it the sacred cave of Idaean Zeus, identified by an inscription, was discovered and explored towards the end of the nineteenth century. It is a deep cavern situated at a height of about 5000 feet on the north side of the mountain, above the table-

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 524; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 440.

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 526; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 1317.

[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 685.

[4] Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 5 *sqq.*; J. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (Halis Saxonum, 1913), pp. 264 *sqq.*

land of Nida, which still preserves the ancient name of Ida slightly disguised by the article prefixed. The remains of animal sacrifices and numerous votive offerings in bronze, gold, ivory, and pottery, which have been found in or before the cave, attest its use as a place of worship in antiquity; but the offerings for the most part belong to a much later age than those found in the Psychro cave; for, with the exception of a single engraved gem, nothing of the Minoan period was brought to light in the excavations; the pottery is of the geometrical style, and some of the objects betray oriental influence. Among the bronzes are a number of round shields with central bosses representing a lion's head, an eagle, a hawk, and so forth. These shields, which are judged to be not older than the eighth century before our era, have a special interest as possibly representing the shields which, as Ovid reminds us in the present passage, the Curetes are said to have carried and to have clashed as they guarded the infant Zeus on Mount Ida. Bronze cymbals have also been found in the cave, and they, too, are reminiscent of the clangorous music with which the mountain rang at the divine nativity.[1]

Theophrastus had no doubt this cave in his mind when he spoke of "the cave on Ida in which the votive offerings are laid up"; at the mouth of the cave, he tells us, there grew a black poplar.[2] King Minos is reported to have descended into the cave on Mount Dicte and there to have composed or concocted the code of laws which he professed to have received from the lips of Zeus.[3] It is said that Pythagoras visited the Idaean cave in company with the seer Epimenides.[4] According to Porphyry, the philosopher was first purified by the hierophants with the aid of a thunder-stone; in the morning he lay prone at full length by the sea, and at night he lay beside a river, his head muffled in the fleece of a black ram. Then, clad in black wool, he descended into the cave, passed

[1] J. Toutain, "Archéologie religieuse de la Crète ancienne", *Études de Mythologie et d'Histoire des Religions antiques*, pp. 157-159; R. Dussaud, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Égée*, p. 330; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 935-939; M. P. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, p. 59.

[2] Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, iii. 3. 4.

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 61. 2.

[4] Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1. 3.

there the customary thrice nine days, sacrificed to Zeus, beheld the throne that is draped for him every year, and inscribed on the tomb of the deity an epitaph that began: "Here lies Zan dead, whom they call Zeus." This composition he dedicated to the god in the simple form: "Pythagoras to Zeus."[1] Thus, if we can trust his biographer, the sage lent the weight of his authority to the impious falsehood, against which Callimachus protested, that Zeus had died and been buried like any common man.

A curious account of the ritual observed in the worship of Zeus on Mount Dicte has been preserved by Athenaeus in an extract from a history of Cyzicus written by Agathocles of Babylon, apparently in the fifth or fourth century B.C. It runs thus: "They fable that the birth of Zeus took place in Crete on Dicte, where also is performed a secret sacrifice. For it is said that a sow gave suck to Zeus, and that by her grunting as she walked about she made the whining of the babe inaudible to the passers-by. Therefore they all esteem that animal very holy and would not taste of pig's flesh; and the Praesians offer sacrifices to the pig, and that is their normal preliminary sacrifice."[2]

Another mountain which claimed to have witnessed the birth of Zeus and the watch kept by the Curetes over the infant god was Ithome in Messenia. On the summit of Ithome there is a spring called in antiquity Clepsydra, and the Messenians alleged that when the infant Zeus was stolen by the Curetes for fear of his father Cronus, the nymphs Ithome and Neda washed him in the water of the spring; wherefore the spring was named Clepsydra, which means "the Stolen Water". Therefore every day the Messenians carried water to the sanctuary of Zeus on Ithome.[3]

IV. 209. **Some beat their shields, others their empty helmets with staves; that was the task of the Curetes and that, too, of the Corybantes.**—It is said that the Curetes danced a war-dance round the infant Zeus, clashing their spears on their shields, in order that the cruel Cronus (Saturn) might hear the clang of arms, but not the whimpering of the helpless

[1] Porphyry, *De vita Pythagorae*, 17.
[2] Athenaeus, ix. 18, pp. 375 f-376 a.
[3] Pausanias, iv. 33. 1.

babe.[1] Hyginus and Servius, like Ovid, couple the Corybantes with the Curetes in the office of guardians of the divine infant;[2] some people thought that the Curetes and the Corybantes were the same,[3] but Pausanias held that they were different.[4] The origin of the Curetes and Corybantes and their relation to each other are learnedly discussed by Strabo,[5] and from his discussion it appears that the subject was a mythical tangle which the ancients themselves were powerless to unravel; we can, therefore, hardly hope to disentangle the various threads and follow them up to the points from which they started in the primitive religions of Greece and Asia Minor. The great diversity of views which prevailed on the topic is emphasized by Strabo; some people, he says, identified the Curetes not only with the Corybantes, but with the Cabiri and the Idaean Dactyls and the Telchines; while others held that these were kindred yet slightly different bodies, agreeing in the general character of their ritual, which was marked by religious enthusiasm and dances performed by armed men, to the noisy accompaniment of cymbals, drums, flutes, and wild cries.[6] Further than this, perhaps, we can hardly go with safety. In modern times the subject has been learnedly discussed by Lobeck, Immisch, and Poerner.[7] Lobeck confessed that in regard to the Corybantes little was certain except the name.[8]

The protection which the Curetes or Corybantes afforded to the infant Zeus (Jupiter) is carved in relief on one side of the marble base in the Capitoline Museum, to which reference

[1] Callimachus, *Hymns*, I. *To Zeus*, 51-53; Apollodorus, i. 1. 7; Strabo, x. 3. 11, p. 468; Lucretius, ii. 629-639; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 150-152: Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104.

[2] Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104.

[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104.

[4] Pausanias, viii. 37. 6.

[5] Strabo, x. 3, pp. 462-474.

[6] Strabo, x. 3. 7, p. 466. Among those who identified the Curetes and Corybantes was the learned grammarian, Demetrius of Scepsis. See Strabo, x. 3. 21, p. 473.

[7] Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, ii. pp. 1111 *sqq.*, "De Curetibus", pp. 1139 *sqq.*, "De Corybantibus", pp. 1156 *sqq.*, "De Idaeis Dactylis"; Immisch, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. coll. 1587 *sqq.*; J. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (Halis Saxonum, 1913). Compare Schwenn, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xi. 2, coll. 1441, 2202 *sqq.*

[8] Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, ii. 1139 *sq.*

has already been made.[1] On it we see the divine child suckled by the goat, Amalthea, while over him are two Curetes or Corybantes in a dancing attitude, striking their shields with their swords. At the side sits a female figure wearing a crown of towers. She has been variously interpreted as Rhea, the nymph Adrastea, and a personification of the island of Crete.[2] A terra-cotta relief represents three Curetes or Corybantes dancing round the infant Zeus and striking their shields with their swords; the child is seated on the ground.[3]

The story of the way in which the Curetes protected the infant Zeus may very well be based on a reminiscence of a real custom of similarly guarding children at birth from the assaults of demons, who are often thought to lie in wait for infants, and are sometimes similarly repelled by loud noises or brandished weapons. Thus, a Spanish priest, writing towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, has described as follows the practices observed by the Tagalogs of the Philippine Islands at the birth of a child: "The *patianak*, which some call goblin (if it be not fiction, dream, or their imagination), is the genius or devil who is accustomed to annoy them. . . . To him they attribute the ill results of childbirth, and say that to do them damage, or to cause them to go astray, he places himself in a tree, or hides in any place near the house of the woman who is in childbirth, and there sings after the manner of those who go wandering, etc. To hinder the evil work of the *patianak*, they make themselves naked, and arm themselves with cuirass, bolo, lance, and other arms, and in this manner place themselves on the ridge-pole of the roof, and also under the house,[4] where they give many blows and thrusts with the bolo, and make many

[1] Above, p. 204, note on *Fasti*, iv. 204.

[2] W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] (Leipzig, 1912), i. p. 485, No. 864; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. pl. lxii. fig. 805; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 2134, fig. 2391; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1602; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, i. 2, p. 1626, fig. 2195, *s.v.* "Curetes".

[3] W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1603.

[4] In these islands, as in a great part of south-eastern Asia and the adjoining archipelago, the houses are raised above the ground on piles and approached by ladders.

gestures and motions ordered to the same intent." [1] According to another version of the account, the husband and his friends arm themselves with sword, shield, and spear, and thus equipped hew and slash furiously in the air, both on the roof of the house and underneath it, for the purpose of frightening and driving away the dangerous spirit who would harm the mother and child.[2] The ancient Romans themselves believed that a woman after childbirth was liable to be attacked by the forest god Silvanus, who made his way into the house by night on purpose to vex and harry her. Hence, during the hours of darkness, three men used to prowl round the thresholds of the house where was a lying-in woman; one of them was armed with an axe, another with a pestle, and the third with a besom; at every threshold they stopped, and while the first two men struck it with the axe and the pestle, the third man swept it with his broom. In this way they thought to guard the mother against the assaults of the woodland deity.[3]

IV. 215. **"Why for her sake doth the fierce breed of lions yield their untamed manes to the curved yoke?"**—The Great Phrygian Goddess was constantly represented in the company of lions; in particular she was described as riding in a car

[1] Fletcher Gardner, "Philippine (Tagalog) Superstitions", *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xix. (1906) pp. 192 *sq.* This account of Tagalog superstitions is translated from *La Pratica del Ministerio*, by Padre Tomas Ortiz, Order of Augustinians, published at Manila in 1713. Of the original only a single copy is known to be in existence. The *bolo* is a broad-bladed knife or sword. See A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (Manila, 1905), p. 130; O. Scheerer, *The Nabaloi Dialect* (Manila, 1905), p. 153. The spirit *patianak*, whom the priest calls a goblin or devil, is probably the ghost of a woman who has died in childbed. Such ghosts are commonly known by similar names (*pontianak*, *kuntianak*, *matianak*, etc.) in the East Indies and are greatly dreaded by women in childbed. See G. A. Wilken, "Het animisme bij de volken van den Indischen, Archipel", *De verspreide Geschriften* (The Hague, 1912), iii. 222-230; Alb. C. Kruijt, *Het animisme in den Indischen Archipel* (The Hague, 1906), pp. 245-251. Both these writers think that the *patianak* of the Philippines is probably identical with the *pontianak* of the Malay Archipelago, though there is seemingly no positive evidence of their identity.

[2] Ferd. Blumentritt, "Der Ahnencultus und die religiösen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen-Archipels", *Mittheilungen der Wiener geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1882, p. 178 (referring to Fray Ortiz and other writers as his authorities); *id.*, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* (Gotha, 1882), p. 14 (*Petermann's Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, No. 67). Compare J. Mallat, *Les Philippines* (Paris, 1846), p. 65.

[3] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 9. Augustine's authority was probably Varro, to whom he repeatedly refers by name in this chapter. For more evidence on this subject see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 472 *sqq.*

drawn by lions.[1] In existing monuments of ancient art she is commonly portrayed riding on the back of a lion, or seated on a throne between two lions, or driving in a car drawn by lions.[2] Homer's frequent references to the ravages of lions, and the constant recurrence of the animal on Assyrian monuments, suffice to prove that western Asia was infested by lions in antiquity; it was natural enough, therefore, that the Great Asiatic Goddess should be attended by them, if only to prove her power to subjugate the fiercest beast of the wilds. Some of the ancients thought that lions and leopards were set beside the image of the goddess because in her infancy she had been reared by the beasts.[3] In modern times it has been suggested that the lion may have been originally the totem of a savage tribe.[4]

IV. 219. **" But why is her head weighted with a turreted crown ? "** — The Great Phrygian Goddess was commonly represented wearing on her head a turreted or battlemented crown. Ovid repeatedly refers to it elsewhere.[5] Lucretius says that the image of the goddess, wearing her mural crown, was borne in awful state across great lands, and he explains the form of the crown by suggesting that, being herself fortified, she sustained cities.[6]

IV. 221. **" Whence came ", said I, " the impulse to cut their limbs ? "**—The ministers of Cybele were called Galli, as Ovid observes a little later on,[7] and to fit themselves for their sacred office they had regularly to castrate themselves with their own hands, apparently using a flint knife for the purpose.[8] Ovid now asks, what is the origin of a custom so alien to Roman and Greek feeling ? To explain it he tells

[1] Lucretius, ii. 600 *sq.*; Catullus, lxiii. 76 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 703 *sq.*, xiv. 538.

[2] A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 86, fig. 93, ii. 800, with fig. 865, p. 801, iii. 2011, fig. 2166; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1646 *sq.*; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], ii. 443 *sq.*, Nos. 1901, 1902. Compare Schwenn, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xi. 2, coll. 2258, 2259, *s.v.* " Kybele ".

[3] Diodorus Siculus, iii. 59. 8.

[4] F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*[2] (Paris, 1909), p. 73.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 321, *Metamorph.* x. 696; compare Propertius, v. (iv.) 11. 52, " *Turritae rara ministra deae* ", with reference to Cybele.

[6] Lucretius, ii. 606-609.

[7] *Fasti*, iv. 361, with the note.

[8] H. Hepding, *Attis* (Gieszen, 1903), pp. 160 *sqq.* For the use of a stone knife compare Ovid, below, *Fasti*, iv. 236; Catullus, lxiii. 5; Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13. 2

the tale, or rather myth, of Attis. According to it, Attis was a fair youth beloved by the goddess, but proving unfaithful to her he was punished by his jealous mistress with a fit of madness, in which he unmanned himself; and in memory of the crime and the punishment all the ministers of the goddess were ever after obliged to castrate themselves.[1] This would seem to have been the explanation which was commonly adopted in antiquity. It is repeated by Lactantius[2] and the late Greek writer Sallustius,[3] both of whom, however, may have borrowed it from Ovid. But to explain the rite by the myth is clearly in this case to invert their true relation; the myth was invented to explain the rite, and it essayed to do so by saying that a single individual did at first what every person of the same class did afterwards; the tragic experience of all was deduced from the tragic experience of one. Catullus has described that sad experience in one of the most famous and moving of his poems,[4] the pathos of which is deepened when we observe, as some modern critics have perceived,[5] that the poet is dealing, not with the mythical Attis of a remote past, but with any votary who, in a frenzy of religious enthusiasm, sacrificed his manhood to the cruel goddess. It is true that the poet names the votary Attis, but from inscriptions it appears that both at Pessinus (the original home of the worship) and at Rome the archigallus or high-priest of Cybele regularly bore the name of Attis.[6] Now since Attis,

[1] H. Hepding, *Attis* (Gieszen, 1903), pp. 160 *sqq.*

[2] Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17.

[3] Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, 4, pp. 6, 8, ed. A. D. Nock. According to another version, the goddess herself unmanned Attis, because, being old and ugly, she could not seduce the virtuous youth to comply with her wishes. See Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 22. 4.

[4] Catullus, lxiii.

[5] H. Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 140 *sq.* In the poem of Catullus nothing is said of that infidelity of Attis to Cybele, which was an essential feature of the myth.

[6] In letters of Eumenes and Attalus, kings of Pergamum, which are preserved in inscriptions at Sivrihissar, the priest at Pessinus is addressed as Attis. See A. von Domaszewski, "Briefe der Attaliden an den Priester von Pessinus", *Archaeologische-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, viii. (1884) pp. 96, 98; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, pp. 57 *sq.*, No. 45; W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. i. pp. 482 *sqq.*, No. 315. For more evidence of inscriptions see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4161, "*C. Camerius Crescens archigallus Matris deum magnae Idaeae et Attis populi Romani, vivus sibi fecit et Camerio*

we are told, was a deity associated with the Mother of the Gods in the same way as Adonis was associated with Aphrodite (Venus),[1] it is reasonable to infer that the high-priest, who bore the name of the deity, represented him and played the part of his divine namesake at the great vernal festival of which the mimic passion, death, and resurrection of Attis were the leading features.[2] The meaning and origin of the name Attis are uncertain, but if, as has been suggested, the name signifies neither more nor less than "father",[3] this would accord very well with the view that Attis was the Father God who consorted with the Great Mother Goddess and thereby stimulated the revival and regeneration of nature in spring.[4]

To this view a serious, and at first sight fatal, objection is presented by the castration of the priests, the Galli, who

Eucratiano lib. suo, ceteris autem libertis utriusque sexus loca singula sepulturae causa"; H. Hepding, *Attis*, p. 79; Rapp, *s.v.* "Attis", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der greich. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 724. Polybius also mentions a priest of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus who bore the name of Attis; he had a colleague who bore the title of Battakes. See Polybius, xxii. 18 (20) ed. L. Dindorf (xxi. 37. 5, ed. W. R. Paton); and as to Battakes see Plutarch, *Marius*, 17. 5; Diodorus Siculus, xxxvi. 13 (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 390 *sq.* ed. Bekker). The title Battakes seems Persian. The priest who bore it was probably subordinate to his colleague, who bore the title of Attis. See H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, p. 95. When Galatia was converted into a Roman province the high-priest of Cybele was reduced to the position of president of a college of ten priests, each of whom bore the official title of Attis. See W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Nos. 540, 541; H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 351 *sq.*; Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922), p. 178.

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761, "*Virbius est numen coniunctum Dianae, ut Matri Deum Atys* (al. Attis), *Minervae Erichthonius, Veneri Adonis.*"

[2] The view that the high-priest personated the god at the spring festival was first, so far as I know, suggested by Henzen, in *Annal. d. Inst.* 1856, p. 110, referred to by Rapp, *l.c.*

[3] P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), p. 355. In inscriptions the genitive, dative, and accusative are occasionally found in the forms *Attinis, Attini, Attin.* See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 4107, 4143, 4183, 4184, 4185, 4186, 5172, 6227. From this a nominative form *Atins* has been inferred, which in turn has been identified with *Adonis.* As the name Adonis is undoubtedly the Semitic *adon*, "lord", this etymology, if correct, would point to a Semitic origin for Attis, whereas the evidence of his myth and ritual point clearly to a Phrygian origin. Compare Rapp. *s.v.* "Attis", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 720; F. Cumont, *s.v.* "Attis", in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. 2. col. 2247.

[4] For the evidence in support of this view I must refer to *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 263 *sqq.*

by hypothesis represented the Father God and mimicked his reproductive activities. To meet this objection I have suggested that the very act of mutilation may have been regarded as contributing to the general resurrection of nature, if the severed portions of the male organs of the priests were buried in the earth as instruments of fertility. There is some ground to think that this was so; for we are expressly told by a scholiast on Nicander that there were sacred underground places, dedicated to Rhea, where, on being castrated, the worshippers of Attis and Rhea deposited their severed genitals.[1] Here the scholiast, like so many others, clearly identified Rhea with Cybele, the Mother of the Gods; indeed, this is put beyond a doubt by the sequel of his note in which he says that Attis was a Phrygian shepherd who sang the praises of the Mother of the Gods and was beloved by her. To take another instance of this common identification or confusion a scholiast on Lucian says that "Attis was castrated by Rhea, the Mother of the Gods, because he had been her lover".[2] Again, Arnobius speaks of the Mother of the Gods gathering the severed genitals of her ministers, washing, anointing, and wrapping them in a garment before committing them to earth;[3] and under this mythical language we may with some probability detect a solemn religious rite.[4] The conjecture that the severed genitals of the ministers of Cybele may have been buried in the earth in order to fertilize it, derives some support from a practice observed in Southern Nigeria, where the pieces of the male organ removed at circumcision are said to be collected and brought down by Yoruba traders and can be bought at fetish markets, and indeed, according to trustworthy testimony, at most other markets, where they are sold to be used "as fertilizing agents in farm and byre as well as by the hearth". It would appear that portions of

[1] Scholiast on Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 8, Λοβρίνης θαλάμαι· τόποι ἱεροί, ὑπόγειοι, ἀνακείμενοι τῇ Ῥέᾳ, ὅπου ἐκτεμόμενοι τὰ μήδεα κατετίθεντο οἱ τῷ Ἄττει καὶ τῇ Ῥέᾳ λατρεύοντες, εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ Λόβρινα ὄρη Φρυγίας ἢ τόπος Κυζίκου.

[2] Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 8 (p. 60 ed. H. Rabe), τὸν Ἄττιν Φρύγες σέβονται τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ Διονύσῳ. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ θηλυδρίαν ὑπὸ Ῥέας τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀποκοπέντα μητρός, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐρώμενον αὐτῆς ὑπάρξαι. Similarly Lucian himself says that Rhea castrated Attis (*De dea Syria*, 15).

[3] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 14.

[4] So the language of Arnobius is understood by H. Hepding (*Attis*, p. 164).

the male organs of warriors, cut off in the full pride of manly vigour, are deemed especially efficacious in this respect.[1]

Cybele was not the only ancient goddess who was served by eunuch priests. The great goddess Artemis (Diana) of Ephesus, whose many-breasted image sufficiently proclaims her character as a deity of fertility, the universal mother,[2] was ministered to by eunuch priests, who bore the title of Megabyzi and were held in high honour.[3] Their title seems to be Persian and may date only from the Persian conquest; but the office and the strange qualification for it were doubtless far older. Nothing is known for certain concerning the religious functions of these eunuch priests in the worship of the Ephesian Artemis (Diana).[4] Strabo speaks of them as if in his time their office was a thing of the past.[5] In the days of their glory they wore a costume resplendent in purple and gold, and so long as they held their tongues they made a deep impression on the beholder; but when they opened their mouths to speak they were apt to betray their ignorance.[6] This gorgeous array may have signified their claim to divinity.[7] Again, the devotees of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis on the Euphrates voluntarily sacrificed their virility at the great festival which fell in the beginning of spring. While flutes played, drums beat, and wild hymns were chanted, a frenzy of religious excitement spread like a wave among the crowd, and man after man stepped out, castrated himself with one of the swords which stood ready

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 275.

[2] A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 131; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 588; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, i. pp. 298, 299, 300, 302, ii. pp. 321 *sq.*; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], p. 222, No. 337 (Vatican statue), p. 441, No. 797 (Capitoline statuette).

[3] Strabo, xiv. 1. 23, p. 641. An inscription of Priene records a decree of that city in honour of one of these Ephesian high-priests; in it he is designated Megabyxus (*sic*), son of Megabyxus. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 282.

[4] As to their history see Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922), pp. 163-182.

[5] Strabo, xiv. 1. 23, p. 641, ἱερέας δ' εὐνούχους εἶχον οὓς ἐκάλουν Μεγαβύζους.

[6] Plutarch, *De tranquillitate animi*, 12, pp. 471 F-472 A; *id.*, *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur*, 15, p. 58, D E; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 93. Compare Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 180-182.

[7] On purple garments in this connexion see G. Glotz, *L'Ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* (Paris, 1904), pp. 116 *sqq.*

for the purpose, and then ran through the city carrying in his hands the tokens of his lost manhood, which he threw into one of the houses that he passed in his mad career. The house so honoured was bound to furnish him with a suit of female attire and female ornaments.[1] This custom clearly indicates that the devotee was supposed to confer a benefit on the household which received his testicles; we may conjecture that they were supposed to fertilize the women of the family. If that was so, it would furnish another proof of the generative virtue ascribed to the severed portions of the male organ.

Again, the Egyptian priests, according to Eustathius, were eunuchs who had sacrificed their virility to their gods.[2] One of the functions of these eunuchs was to perform ceremonies for the purpose of making the Nile rise and fertilize the land of Egypt. When Constantine, after his conversion to Christianity, forbade the employment of eunuchs at these rites, the Egyptians believed that the river would not rise, and that dearth and hunger stared them in the face. But God, says the pious historian, supported the new law; for that year the water of the Nile rose higher than it had ever done within the memory of man, and all the fields were submerged by the flood.[3] This is a striking instance of the fertilizing power ascribed to eunuchs; the fertility of the whole land of Egypt was believed to depend on their exertions.

A similar relation between eunuchs and the fruitfulness of the earth appears to be assumed by other peoples in modern times. Thus in Corea "during a certain night known as *Chu-il*, in the twelfth moon, the palace eunuchs, of whom there are some three hundred, perform a ceremony supposed to ensure a bountiful crop in the ensuing year. They chant in chorus prayers, swinging burning torches round them the while. This is said to be symbolical of burning the dead grass, so as to destroy the field mice and other vermin".[4] It appears that among the Ekoi of Southern

[1] Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 15, 27, 49-51.

[2] Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xix. 254, p. 1183.

[3] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 25.

[4] W. Woodvile Rockhill, "Notes on some of the Laws, Customs, and Superstitions of Korea", *The American Anthropologist*, iv. (Washington, 1891) p. 185. Compare Mrs. Bishop (Isabella L. Bird), *Korea and her Neighbours* (London, 1898), ii. 56 *sq.*

Nigeria both men and women are, or used to be, mutilated by the excision of their genital organs at an annual festival, which is celebrated in order to produce plentiful harvests and immunity from thunder-storms. The victims apparently die from loss of blood.[1] Every year, in the dry season, the king of the Mossi in the Western Sudan causes the sacrifice of an ass to be made to a certain dead king, named Naba-Koutou, in the house in which the deceased monarch is buried. Before the French occupied the country the sacrifice was offered by a eunuch, who killed the ass, and slaughtered also a horse, an ox, and a sheep. This eunuch had charge of the dead king's tomb; he bore the king's name and in a manner continued the life of the defunct potentate. He enjoyed certain privileges. If captives or persons condemned to death contrived to escape to the royal tomb, they were safe but became the slaves of the eunuch who played the part of the king. The tomb and the eunuch who guards it exist to this day, but under French rule the eunuch is shorn of the privileges which he enjoyed when his country was free.[2] The object for which the ass and the other animals were sacrificed is not mentioned, but as the sacrifice took place in the dry season, we may conjecture that it was intended to procure a due supply of rain. In time of drought the king of the Mossi used to cause sacrifices to be offered on a certain hill until rain fell.[3] If this conjecture as to the purpose of the sacrifice is correct, the custom observed by the Mossi at the king's tomb would furnish another instance of the fertility which a eunuch is supposed able to effect.[4]

The subject of eunuchs in ancient religion has been investigated by Mr. A. D. Nock in a learned essay.[5] He concludes that castration was practised for the purpose of ensuring the permanent chastity of the priests, since the intercourse of the sexes was generally believed to entail a

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush* (London, 1912), pp. 74 *sqq.*

[2] L. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Soudan* (Paris, 1912), p. 596.

[3] L. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Soudan*, p. 589.

[4] For some more evidence see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 270 *sq.*

[5] A. D. Nock, "Eunuchs in ancient Religion", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxiii. (1925) pp. 25-33.

ceremonial pollution which temporarily incapacitated a person for the offices of religion.[1] The remedy on this theory was certainly simple and effectual, like cutting off a man's head to prevent him from committing murder; and it is quite possible that this motive operated with many fanatics to nerve them for the irrevocable sacrifice. But the evidence I have adduced seems to suggest that the theory in question does not cover all the cases; it appears to indicate that the effect aimed at is not merely negative, that is, a physical incapacity to perform a natural function, but that a positive benefit is contemplated, whether by the use of the sacrificed parts as instruments of fertility or by the acquisition of magical or religious faculties which are denied to men who retain their virility. Yet why the destruction of a natural function should thus be supposed to endow the mutilated man with supernatural graces is one of those riddles of human thought which no Oedipus has yet arisen to read. Thus the question which Ovid puts in the present passage remains unanswered.

IV. 228. **meeting the nymph Sagaritis, he ceased to be what he had been.**—The name of this nymph is otherwise unknown. It is doubtless derived from Sangarius, a river which flows near Pessinus through Phrygia and Bithynia into the Black Sea.[2] The name of the river is also given as Sagaris,[3] which is still nearer to the name of the nymph. Lactantius and Sallustius tell similarly how Attis proved false to the goddess by falling in love with a nymph or a woman, and how the jealous goddess punished him by castrating him or causing him to unman himself; but they do not name the nymph or the woman who led him astray.[4] The tale is alluded to by Julian.[5]

[1] The evidence on this subject is collected by E. Fehrle, *Kultische Keuschheit im Alterthum* (Giessen, 1910). Other causes of ceremonial pollution in Greek religion are dealt with by Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Giessen, 1910). On the question of ritual purity in classical antiquity the old work of J. Lomeier (*De veterum gentilium lustrationibus Syntagma*, Ultrajecti, 1681), is, like many treatises of the same period, still a mine of sound learning.

[2] Strabo, xii. 3. 7, p. 543, xii. 5. 3, p. 568; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σαγγάριος.

[3] Pseudo-Plutarch, *De fluviis*, xii. 1; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 707, *s.v.* Σάγαρις.

[4] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 17; Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, 4, pp. 6, 8, ed. A. D. Nock.

[5] Julian, *Or.* v. pp. 216 *sq.* ed. Hertlein.

IV. 231. **By wounds inflicted on the tree, she cut down the Naiad, who perished thus.**—From this passage it plainly appears that a tree-nymph was not immortal, but died when the tree with which her life was bound up fell beneath the axe. Even apart from this violent death, we know from other sources that the life of any nymph was strictly limited. The length of it was stated with great precision by Hesiod. According to him, the crow lives nine generations of men ; the deer lives four generations of the crow ; the raven lives three generations of the deer ; the palm-tree lives nine generations of the raven ; and the nymphs live ten generations of the palm-tree. Now, if we reckon a generation at one year, which for the human species is a very moderate allowance, a simple mathematical calculation will show that the years of a nymph are nine thousand seven hundred and twenty, neither more nor less.[1] The author of the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite tells us that the nymphs rank neither with the immortals nor with mortals, but they live long, and eat ambrosial food, and trip it in the lovely dance with deathless gods. When they are born, pine-trees or high-topped oaks are born on earth, fair blooming trees in holy groves on the high hills, where never comes the woodman with his axe. But when the fate of death draws nigh, the trees wither, the bark shrivels, the boughs drop off, and with them the soul of the tree-nymph quits for ever the light of the sun.[2] Callimachus speaks of nymphs born with the oaks, who are glad when the rain makes the oaks to grow and who weep when the oaks are leafless.[3] Ovid himself in another passage has recorded the sad case of an aged oak which grew in a holy grove. Its gnarled trunk was girt with many a ribbon, many a wreath, and many a tablet hung by pious hands, and often round its bole the Dryad nymphs, hand linked in hand, danced in a ring. But the wicked prince Erysichthon was no respecter of trees and the tree-nymphs. He ordered his servants to cut down the old oak, and when they hung back he snatched the axe from one of them and cried that, if the goddess herself were in the tree, he would bring it with its

[1] Hesiod, quoted by Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 11, p. 415 C, D.
[2] *Homeric Hymns*, V. *To Aphrodite*, 257-272.
[3] Callimachus, *Hymns*, IV. *To Delos*, 83-85.

leafy top crashing to the ground. At the dreadful words the tree groaned aloud, its green leaves turned pale, and a deathlike pallor stole over the boughs; and when the axe cut into the trunk, blood flowed from the wound. Undeterred by these ominous symptoms, the bold, bad man redoubled his blows, till the stately oak was felled and in its fall drew many trees to the ground. Grieved at the death of their sister, the Dryad nymphs, in mourning robes of sable hue, appealed to Ceres, the goddess of the grove, who inflicted exemplary punishment on the sinner.[1]

In the present passage Ovid speaks of the tree-nymph incorrectly as a Naiad, for the Naiads were nymphs of the water.[2]

IV. 234. **he fled and ran for the top of Mount Dindymus.** —Mount Dindymus in Phrygia overhangs Pessinus, the sacred city of Cybele, who was sometimes called Dindymenian after it.[3]

IV. 236.—**And oft he swore that the Palaestinian goddesses were on him.**—The goddesses in question are no doubt the Furies, but why they should be called Palaestinian is not apparent. The commentators suppose that the adjective is derived from Palaeste, a port in Epirus, where Caesar, crossing over from Brundusium, landed his army before the battle of Pharsalia.[4] Speaking of that event Lucan says that the fleet fixed its anchors in the Palaestinian sands.[5] But what, if any, was the connexion of the Furies with that obscure place, nobody knows. Various emendations of the text have been suggested, which are recorded in the Critical Note. The best is Madvig's *palam trinas*, which may be right. If we adopt it, the translation of the line will be: "Oft he swore that the three goddesses were visibly upon him", where by the three goddesses is meant the Furies, who were supposed to drive men to madness. While his mother's blood was still red on his hands, and his wits were beginning to waver, Orestes fancied he saw the grim figures of the Furies, clad in sable weeds, with serpents coiled about them,

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 738 *sqq.*
[2] Compare Pausanias, viii. 4. 2, x. 33. 4.
[3] Strabo, xii. 5. 3, p. 567; Catullus, lxiii. 12 *sq.*
[4] Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 6. [5] Lucan, v. 460.

and gouts of gore dripping from their eyes.[1] At a place in Arcadia, on the road from Megalopolis to Messene, a spot was shown where the matricide saw the dreadful vision. It is said that when the Furies were about to drive Orestes mad, they appeared black to him ; but that when in his frenzy he had bitten off one of his fingers, they appeared white to him, and then he recovered his wits.[2]

IV. 245. **the Aonian Muse.**—The adjective Aonian is a poetical equivalent of Boeotian. The poet has already made use of it.[3] He applies the epithet to the Muses because Mount Helicon, the beautiful home of the Muses, with its woods and springs, is in Boeotia.[4] Elsewhere Ovid calls the Muses the Aonian Sisters[5] or the Aonides.[6]

IV. 247. **" Instruct me, too, I pray, my guide, whence was she fetched, whence came ? "**—The story of the coming to Rome of the great Asiatic goddess, Cybele or the Idaean Mother, which is here told by Ovid in poetical and mythical form, is narrated in a strictly historical form by Livy.[7] In 205 B.C., towards the end of the long struggle with Hannibal, the Sibylline Books were consulted, and a prediction was produced from them to the effect that the Carthaginians could be driven from Italy if the Idaean Mother were brought from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome. Envoys were accordingly sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle. The god, or the priestess, gave an encouraging reply, advising the envoys to apply to Attalus, king of Pergamum, and stipulating that, when the goddess arrived in Rome, she should there be received by the best man in the city. Thus fortified by the divine approval, the envoys repaired to King Attalus at Pergamum. He received them politely and conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia, where he gave into their hands the sacred stone which the people of the place declared to be the Mother of the Gods.[8] The holy stone was brought by sea to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, where it was solemnly

[1] Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 1048-1058.
[2] Pausanias, viii. 35. 1-3.
[3] *Fasti*, i. 490, with the note.
[4] Pausanias, ix. 28-31.
[5] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 39.
[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 333, vi. 2.
[7] Livy, xxix. chs. 10, 11, 14. Compare Appian, *Punica*, vii. 9. 56 ; Diodorus Siculus, *Frag.* xxxiv.-xxxv. 33. 1-3 ; Silius Italicus, xvii. 1-47 ; Herodian, i. 11 ; Julian, *Or.* v. pp. 207 *sq.* ed. Hertlein ; Dio Cassius, xvii. 61.
[8] Livy, xxix. 10-11.

received by a virtuous young man, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who, as the best man in Rome, had been appointed by the Senate to give hospitality to the goddess. He went on board the ship, received the goddess, or rather the stone, from the hands of the priests and brought it ashore. There it was entrusted to the keeping of the noblest Roman matrons, by relays of whom it was conveyed, with prayers and the burning of incense, to the temple of Victory on the Palatine, where it arrived on the fourth day of April 204 B.C. The people brought their offerings to the goddess on the Palatine. The day became an annual festival, known as the Megalesia, and was celebrated with games and a solemn banquet of the gods of the sort known as a *lectisternium*, because at it couches were draped to receive the images of the divine banqueters.[1] Thus the statement of Ovid (lines 266 *sqq.*) that King Attalus at first refused to give up the image of Cybele to the Roman envoys is not borne out by Livy.

According to Livy and later writers,[2] the sacred image of the Great Goddess was fetched from the principal seat of her worship, Pessinus in Phrygia. But on this point Livy is contradicted by the learned Varro, who says that the image was brought from the Megalesion, a sanctuary of the Great Goddess outside the walls of Pergamum, whence it was dispatched by King Attalus to Rome.[3] In favour of this version various considerations have been urged.[4] In the first place, at the time when the image was brought to Rome, the city of Pessinus was not included within the dominions of Attalus, and therefore it seems very unlikely that he could have been free to dispose of it and to hand it over to the Romans. Livy says that he conducted the envoys to Pessinus. But Pessinus is distant more than two hundred

[1] Livy, xxix. 14. 5-14; Appian, *Punica*, vii. 56; Diodorus Siculus, *Frag.* xxxiv.-xxxv. 33. 1-2; Dio Cassius, xvii. 61. As to the date of the arrival of the goddess on the Palatine see above, note on *Fasti*, iv. 181, p. 200.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, *Frag.* xxxiv.-xxxv. 33. 2; Herodian, i. 11; Dio Cassius, xvii. 61; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 49.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 15, "*Megalesia dicta a Graecis, quod ex libris Sibyllinis arcessita ab Attalo rege Pergama; ibi prope murum Megalesion, id est templum eius deae, unde advecta Romam.*" On the form of the name Pergama it is observed by K. O. Müller: "Πέργαμα *Graecorum Romani mutarunt in Pergamam, ut saepe factum*".

[4] By H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 45-51.

miles from Pergamum. How could the king conduct the envoys across this extent of foreign and probably hostile country? Again, the proper title of the goddess imported by the Romans seems to have been the Idaean Mother; this was apparently the title accorded to her both in the Sibylline oracle and in popular speech.[1] But Mount Ida, from which the title is derived, was not in Phrygia but in the Troad, which was within the dominions of Attalus. Hence it was natural for the Romans to apply to that king for the image, and it was easy for him to grant the application if, as Varro tells us, the temple from which the image was taken stood just outside the walls of the king's own capital, Pergamum. Once more, if the image of the Idaean Mother did really come from Pessinus, it is odd that Cicero should not have alluded to it in his account of the ravages which his enemy Clodius committed in that holy city. To deepen the horror of his hearers at the sacrilege the orator expatiates on the reverence in which Pessinus had been held for ages by Persians and Syrians, by foreign kings and Roman generals; but he does not let fall a word as to what, if it ever took place, would have been the highest compliment ever paid to Pessinus, the fetching of its holy image to Rome.[2] On all these grounds it has been inferred that the image of the Idaean Mother was brought to Rome from Pergamum and not from Pessinus, and that the name of Pessinus displaced that of Pergamum in the story when the heyday of Pergamum, as the capital of an independent kingdom, was over; when the very existence of its suburban temple of the Idaean Mother was remembered only by antiquaries; and when the Romans, now masters of Pessinus, were not unwilling to enhance the fame of the image of Cybele on the Palatine by claiming that it had been brought from that ancient Phrygian city of immemorial sanctity instead of from the upstart and now decayed capital of a fallen kingdom.[3]

The sacred image of the goddess was said to have fallen originally from heaven and to have dropped on earth at

[1] Livy, xxix. 10. 5, xxix. 14. 5; compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 182.

[2] Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 13. 28.

[3] In what precedes I have merely recapitulated the arguments and conclusion of H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 45-51.

Pessinus.[1] It was nothing but a small black stone of irregular and angular shape, which could be carried in a man's hand. At Rome it was set in the statue of the goddess, where it represented her face. It was still to be seen there in the time of Arnobius, about A.D. 300.[2]

IV. 249. **Ida with its delightful springs.**—Ovid was probably thinking of the epithet "many-fountained" which Homer applied to Mount Ida ;[3] and no doubt Tennyson was thinking of it too when in *Oenone* he applied the same epithet to the same mountain :

> "*O mother Ida, many-fountain'd Ida,*
> *Dear mother Ida, harken ere I die.*"

IV. 251. **When Aeneas carried Troy to the Italian fields.**—Ovid seems to be echoing a similar expression of Virgil, in which the poet speaks of the Trojans "carrying Ilium to Italy".[4]

IV. 257. **the priest consulted the fateful words of the Euboean song.**—Livy expresses the same meaning in prose when he tells us that the Sibylline Books were consulted by the College of Ten Men in 205 B.C., on account of the showers of stones which had fallen from heaven in that year.[5] The original Sibylline books are said to have been brought to Tarquin the Elder or Tarquin the Proud (for on this point the ancient authorities differ) by the Sibyl of Cumae.[6] But Cumae was founded jointly by Greek colonists from Chalcis in Euboea and from Cyme in Aeolis ; and the founders agreed that the new city should take its name (in Greek Cyme, in Latin Cumae) from Cyme in Aeolis, but that it should be regarded as a colony of Chalcis in Euboea. The city was of great antiquity ; indeed, it is said to have been

[1] Herodian, i. 11. 1.

[2] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 49.

[3] Homer, *Il.* viii. 47, Ἴδην δ' ἱκανεν πολυπίδακα ; compare *Il.* xiv. 157, 283, 307, xv. 151.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 68, "*Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penatis*".

[5] Livy, xxix. 10. 4.

[6] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 6 ; Isidore, *Origines*, viii. 8 ; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 47, pp. 104 *sq.* ed. Wuensch ; Suidas, *s.v.* Σίβυλλα. According to these writers, the Sibyl brought the books to Tarquin the Elder ; but according to Aulus Gellius (i. 19), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiii. 88), Solinus (ii. 16-17), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 62), she brought them to Tarquin the Proud.

the oldest Greek colony either in Italy or Sicily.[1] It is with reference to the Euboean origin of Cumae that Ovid here speaks of a Sibylline oracle as a "Euboean song". Similarly Virgil, speaking of the end of an old era and the beginning of a new era, says that, "Now the last age of the Cumaean song has come".[2] For the Sibylline oracles were couched in verse, as were the oracles at Delphi, until, the springs of poetic and prophetic fancy running dry, the deity was reduced to communicating with humanity in plain prose. Even in the days of its glory the verses which emanated from the fount of wisdom at Delphi were such wretched stuff, so full of blunders in metre and diction, that the pious were hard put to it to reconcile the deplorable quality of the poetry with the theory of its divine inspiration. Why should Apollo, the leader of the Muses, be so bad a poet when mere men like Homer and Hesiod were so good? These knotty questions were discussed by Plutarch and his friends at Delphi, sitting on the sunny side of the temple and looking towards the sanctuary of Earth and a spring of bubbling water, where the Muses had of old a shrine. In such pleasant surroundings the friends hoped to get some light on the problems which the solemnity of the scene and the immemorial sanctity of the place naturally suggested to their minds.[3]

Writing in the Augustan age, shortly before the beginning of our era, the Greek antiquary Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the Romans guarded nothing with such jealous care as the Sibylline oracles, which they regarded as an holy and sacred possession. The books in which these priceless effusions were enshrined were kept in a stone chest in a vault under the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. Their custodians were men of illustrious birth and ability, who held office for life; and, that they might devote themselves without interruption to their sacred calling, they were exempted from all military service and secular duties. When the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol perished in the great fire of 83 B.C., the Sibylline Books were consumed in the flames; but the

[1] Strabo, v. 4. 4, p. 243.
[2] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 4, "*Ultima Cymaei venit iam carminis aetas*".
[3] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 5-7, 17-20.

authorities had no difficulty in compiling a fresh farrago of nonsense from the numerous collections of oracular trash which were treasured in many cities and by many private individuals ; though it was freely admitted that into this new and revised edition of the sacred volumes there had crept some verses which could not claim to be absolutely authentic.[1]

IV. 263. **Paean was consulted and said, " Fetch the Mother of the Gods ; she is to be found on Mount Ida ".**— Paean is the Delphic Apollo. The envoys who were sent to fetch the image of the Mother of the Gods from Asia consulted by the way the Delphic oracle with regard to their mission and received a favourable answer. They were Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, of praetorian rank, Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been aedile, and two men who had been quaestors, Cnaeus Tremellius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto.[2] These were the nobles to whom Ovid refers.

IV. 273. **Straightway unnumbered axes fell those pine-woods which had supplied the pious Phrygian with timber in his flight.**—" The pious Phrygian " is Aeneas, who after the fall of Troy built a fleet with the timber of trees felled in the forests of Mount Ida, at the foot of the slope on which stood the city of Antandrus.[3] In 410 B.C., when the joint Peloponnesian and Syracusan fleets had been defeated, with the loss of all their ships, by the Athenians off Cyzicus, the Persian satrap Pharnabazus encouraged the survivors not to be down-hearted for the lack of timber, since there was plenty of it in the dominions of the Great King. He told them to replace their lost ships by building as many new ones with timber felled on Mount Ida. The advice was taken, and while the Peloponnesians laboured at felling the timber and building the ships, the Syracusans helped the people of Antandrus to complete the walls of their city, and undertook sentry duty with a cheerful good humour which rendered them extremely popular.[4] A few years later the Spartan

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 62. 5-6. As to the destruction of the original Sibylline books in the conflagration of 83 B.C. and the compilation of the new edition, compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 88 ; Solinus, ii. 16-17 ; Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 12 ; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 12.

[2] Livy, xxix. 11. 1-6.

[3] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 5-6.

[4] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 1. 23-26.

admiral Lysander refitted some of his ships and built others at Antandrus.[1] Ovid's description of the building of the fleet is probably a flight of poetical imagination. A fleet was hardly necessary to convey a small stone which any man could carry in his hand.[2] From Livy we know that the Roman envoys were sent in a squadron of five quinqueremes,[3] which corresponded roughly to our old three-deckers. Surely in so many big men-of-war room could have been found for the little image.

In speaking of the Trojan Aeneas as a Phrygian our author followed the example of Virgil, who used the adjective Phrygian as synonymous with Trojan, as when he spoke of Phrygian Ida and the Phrygian ships of Aeneas ;[4] he even described Aeneas sailing on the Phrygian sea,[5] nor is the description wholly inaccurate ; for what was called Hellespontine Phrygia included the Troad,[6] from which Aeneas is said to have set out on his eventful voyage.

IV. 278. **the long strait named after the sister of Phrixus.**—Ovid means the Hellespont, which was said to have taken its name from Helle, the sister of Phrixus ; for, flying over that strait on the ram with the golden fleece, she fell into the water and was drowned.[7]

IV. 279. **Rhoeteum, where the tide runs fast.**—Rhoeteum was a town of the Troad, standing on a hill overlooking the Hellespont, near the sea. Adjoining it was a flat beach, on which might be seen the tomb of Ajax, with a shrine devoted to his worship. Here, too, stood a statue of the hero. Mark Antony carried it off to Egypt as a present for his royal leman Cleopatra, but Augustus restored it to the people of Rhoeteum.[8] The shrine of Ajax was founded by the Rhodians.[9]

IV. 280. **Eetion's ancient realm.**—Eetion was the father of Hector's wife Andromache. He was king of Thebe, a town at the foot of Mount Placus in Mysia. The town was sacked by Achilles.[10] In the time of Strabo the place was deserted,

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 1. 8.
[2] See above, p. 230.
[3] Livy, xxix. 11. 4.
[4] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 182, iii. 6.
[5] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 381.
[6] Strabo, ii. 5. 31, p. 129, xii. 4. 1, p. 563.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 868 *sqq.*
[8] Strabo, xiii. 1. 30, p. 595.
[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 125.
[10] Homer, *Il.* i. 366 *sq.*, vi. 395-398, xvi. 153.

and the woods that had once clothed the sides of the mountain were gone.[1]

IV. 282. **the waves that break on the Carystian shoals.**—Carystus was a town on the southern coast of Euboea, at the foot of Mount Oche. Near it were the quarries which yielded the Carystian marble, with a sanctuary of Marble Apollo.[2] The place still bears the name of Karysto. Inscriptions have been found on the spot which mention the sanctuary of Apollo. The citadel was probably situated on a rocky hill distant some two or three miles from the shore ; its summit is now occupied by a mediaeval castle. On the shore there are still some remains of the ancient breakwater.[3]

The marble quarries have long since been exhausted, but many of their slabs still adorn the churches in Rome, where the marble is known as *cipollino*. There are several varieties of it. One (*cipollino verde*) is apple-green, with parallel wavy or zigzag lines of darker shade. Another (*cipollino rosso*) shows parallel lines of dark purple, red, rose, and pink, knotted like timber.[4] The profligate and rapacious Mamurra, whose vices and luxury Catullus lashed in two scathing epigrams,[5] had a house on the Caelian hill at Rome in which all the columns were of Carystian or Luna marble.[6] In the garden of his Tuscan villa the Younger Pliny had a bench of white marble, shaded by a vine which was supported on columns of Carystian marble.[7]

IV. 283. **the Icarian Sea also, where Icarus lost his wings that slipped.**—To escape from the island of Crete, where he and his son Icarus were shut up by King Minos in the famous labyrinth, the skilful artist and engineer Daedalus constructed two pairs of wings, which he fastened by wax or glue to his own shoulders and those of his son ; and after warning his son not to soar too high, lest the heat of the sun should melt the wax, he and Icarus spread their wings and flew away across the sea. But in the exhilaration of the novel motion Icarus mounted up and up, forgetting his father's caution,

[1] Strabo, xiii. 1. 65, pp. 613 *sq.* [2] Strabo, x. 1. 6, p. 446.
[3] C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1862–1872), ii. 432 *sq.*
[4] H. W. Pullen, *Handbook of Ancient Roman Marbles* (London, 1894), pp. 59 *sqq.*
[5] Catullus, xxix., lvii.
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 48. [7] Pliny, *Epist.* v. 6. 36.

till the wax dissolved in the sunbeams, the wings dropped from his shoulders, and down he fell plump into the sea, which after him was called the Icarian Sea.[1] The body of Icarus was washed ashore on the island of Doliche. Hercules found it there weltering on the shore, and having buried it he named the island Icaria after the drowned man.[2] The story is the theme of three Pompeian wall-paintings. In one of them Icarus is seen falling headlong into the sea ; in two he is lying dead on the beach, while his father Daedalus hovers above him on his wings. In one of the two latter paintings the landscape is particularly impressive. The setting sun is sending a path of shimmering light across the blue water to the dead boy, and touching with its last warm rays the cliffs that hem in the beach. In the distance, dimly seen, is a city by the sea, and above it solemn cypresses rise up against the quiet evening sky. On a rock beside the shore is seated a nymph or woman, who looks down pityingly on the drowned lad. The whole setting of the picture harmonizes well with its tragic subject.[3]

IV. 285. **Then she left Crete on the larboard and the Pelopian billows on the starboard.**—The ship with the image of Cybele on board is now rounding the southern extremity of Peloponnese, on the high cliffs of which the waves are seen breaking white in the distance. Off the coast the sacred isle of Aphrodite, Cythera, is passed to starboard. Far away to larboard loom faint and blue the mountains of Crete.

IV. 287. **the Trinacrian Sea.**—The Trinacrian Sea is the Sicilian Sea, " the blue Sicilian Sea ", as Andrew Lang calls it in some of the most charming of his verses. Sicily was sometimes called Trinacria (later Thrinacia), that is, Three-

[1] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, i. 12-13 ; Strabo, xiv. 1. 19, p. 639 ; Lucian, *Gallus*, 23 ; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 498-504 ; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, p. 373, *Narrat.* xxxii. ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 183-235 ; *id.*, *Ars Amat.* ii. 21-96 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 40.

[2] Apollodorus, ii. 6. 3 ; Pausanias, ix. 11. 5.

[3] A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 404, with fig. 446, ii. 877, with fig. 950 (a coloured plate) ; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 114-116, with illustrations ; W. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 97. For other monuments illustrating the fatal flight see K. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[2] (Stuttgart, 1878), § 418. 1, pp. 721 *sq.* ; E. Pottier, *s.v.* " Daedalus ", in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, ii. 1, pp. 5 *sqq.*, with figs. 2278, 2281, 2282, 2283.

pointed, with reference to its triangular shape. The three capes at the points of the triangle are Pelorum on the north, Pachynum on the south, and Lilybaeum on the west.[1] Later on in this book Ovid speaks of " the Trinacrian land " and explains the name correctly.[2]

IV. 287. **where Brontes and Steropes and Acmonides are wont to dip the white-hot iron.**—These are the three Cyclopes, who were supposed to forge the thunderbolts of Jupiter in the bowels of Mount Etna ; the glare of the volcanic fires was believed to be the ruddy glow of their forge, and in the rumble and roar of the mountain people fancied they heard the clang of the hammers on the anvil. According to Virgil, the names of the three Cyclopes were Brontes, Steropes, and Pyracmon, meaning respectively Thunder, Lightning, and Fire-anvil.[3] For the last of these names Ovid has substituted Acmonides, " Son of the Anvil ". Hesiod calls them Brontes, Steropes, and Arges.[4]

IV. 291. **She had arrived at Ostia.**—The Mother of the Gods had a temple at Ostia, of which the foundations have been discovered in modern times. It was of no great size, measuring about thirty-five feet in length by twenty-eight feet in breadth. The style was what is called prostyle and tetrastyle ; that is, it had a portico with four columns on the front. The temple was orientated east and west, and faced to the east ; it seems to have been in existence from the beginning of the Empire, that is, roughly from the beginning of our era.[5] Inscriptions found on the site serve to identify the temple and to prove that there was a regular worship of the Mother of the Gods at Ostia with a high-priest at its head. Two of the inscriptions record the dedication of silver images of the Mother of the Gods and Attis by a high-priest (*archigallus*) named Quintus Caecilius Fuscus.[6] Another records the dedication of a silver figure (*typus*) of the Mother of the Gods

[1] Strabo, vi. 2. 1, p. 265 ; Diodorus Siculus, v. 2. 1 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 86 *sq.* ; Solinus, v. 2.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 419 *sq.*, compare 479 *sq.*

[3] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 416 *sqq.*

[4] Hesiod, *Theog.* 140.

[5] H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 341 *sq.* Compare Th. Ashby, " Recent Discoveries at Ostia ", *Journal of Roman Studies*, ii. (1912) p. 190 ; K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*[15], p. 492.

[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 4111, 4112.

by a woman named Calpurnia Chelido.[1] Another records the dedication of an image of Attis by a certain Quintus Domitius Aterianus and Domitia Civitas.[2] Another mentions a high-priest (*archigallus*) of the Colony of Ostia named M. Modius Maxximus (*sic*).[3] At the temple was also found a beautiful marble statue of Attis, which is now in the Lateran Museum. The deity is represented in a recumbent attitude. His character as a god of vegetation is indicated by the wreath of pine-cones, pomegranates, and other fruits which he wears on his head, by the bunch of ears of corn and fruits which he holds in his right hand, and by the ears of corn which spring from his Phrygian cap. His relation to the sun is shown by the beams that radiate from his head, while his affinity to the moon is symbolized by the crescent on his cap, which probably indicates his identification with the Asiatic Moon-god Men, who in later times was confused with Attis.[4] Leaning with his left arm on a bust of a bearded man, he holds in his hand a shepherd's crook, one of his ordinary attributes. The general air of the figure is effeminate; the expression of the face is pensive and resigned rather than sad. The statue is esteemed the finest representation of Attis that has come down to us. From its style and the lettering of the inscription it is judged to belong to the age of Hadrian.[5] The inscription on the statue records that it was dedicated to the deity of Attis by C. Cartilius Euplus in consequence of an admonition of the goddess, that is, no doubt, the Mother of the Gods.[6]

IV. 292. **All the knights and the grave senators, mixed up with the common folk, came to meet her at the mouth of the**

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4113.

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4114.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4162.

[4] As to the Asiatic, and especially Phrygian, Moon-god Men see Drexler, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2687 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Men". His worship is known chiefly from coins and inscriptions. It made its way into Attica from Asia. See P. Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1873), pp. 119 *sqq.* As to the confusion of Attis with Men see Drexler, *op. cit.* ii. 2754 *sq.*

[5] Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, i. 2. p. 1688, with fig. 2248; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], ii. 51, No. 1236.

[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4115, "*Numini Attis C. Cartilius Euplus ex monitu deae*".

river.—Ovid's description of the popular enthusiasm with which the image of the Mother of the Gods was received on its arrival at Ostia is fully borne out by Livy's account, from which, indeed, the poet may have borrowed its general features. The historian tells us that Publius Cornelius Scipio, a young man who had not yet attained to the office of quaestor, was chosen as the best man in Rome for the honour of receiving the goddess at Ostia and entrusting her to the matrons, who were to convey her to Rome. He carried out his instructions. When the ship with the goddess arrived off the mouth of the Tiber, he went out in a tender to meet her, boarded the vessel, received the image, and carried it ashore. There he committed it to the hands of the noblest matrons of Rome, who passed it on from one to the other till it reached the capital. The whole population of the city poured out to meet it. At the doors of all the houses where the image passed burning censers were set out, and it was amid the fumes of incense and the sound of pious prayers and ejaculations that the goddess made her triumphal entry into the temple of Victory on the Palatine.[1] To understand this outburst of popular or rather national enthusiasm, we must remember that at the time the Second Punic War was still dragging out its weary length; the memory of Cannae and the Trasimene Lake was still fresh in the minds of men of middle age, though a new generation was growing up which had only heard from their mothers' lips of these dreadful days; above all, Hannibal was still in Italy, clinging desperately to the heel of the peninsula which, at the head of his dusky army, he had traversed at will for so many years. The coming of the goddess had been heralded by prophecy as the pledge of final victory, and it was at once as the harbinger and the author of the crowning triumph that she was received and escorted by the whole people to the temple of Victory on the Palatine.

IV. 305. **Claudia Quinta traced her descent from Clausus of old, and her beauty matched her nobility.**—The following story of the miracle by which the noble lady Claudia towed the barge that had stuck fast in the mud, thereby vindicating her good name against the breath of calumny, is often told

[1] Livy, xxix. 14. 8-14.

or alluded to by ancient writers. The prudent or sceptical Livy says nothing about the miracle, and contents himself with observing that the pious service which Claudia Quinta rendered to the goddess on that occasion established for all time her reputation for virtue, which had been dubious before.[1] According to some late writers, Claudia was a Vestal Virgin,[2] but their testimony on this point is not corroborated by Livy and other ancient authorities. Appian says that Claudia was accused of adultery,[3] which seems to imply that she was a matron, and Livy certainly appears to have taken this view, for he expressly includes her among the noble matrons who received the Mother of the Gods at Ostia.[4] To enhance the wonder some writers alleged that Claudia towed the barge, not by the rope, but by her scarf.[5] There was a statue of her, which, after twice escaping unscathed from conflagrations, was dedicated in the temple of the Mother of the Gods.[6] On the reverse of coins struck by C. Clodius Pulcher about 43 B.C. there is portrayed a seated female figure, which from the costume and the appended inscription (*Vestalis*) is known to represent a Vestal Virgin. It has been conjectured that the figure represents the statue of Claudia, of whose fame her noble family were naturally proud.[7] The scene of the lady drawing the ship by her girdle or a chain is sculptured in relief on a pedestal, which was found on the bank of the Tiber and is now in the Capitoline Museum. The goddess is represented sitting in the ship, and from the headdress which she wears Claudia appears to be portrayed as a Vestal Virgin.[8] An inscription on the pedestal records that the offering,

[1] Livy, xxix. 14. 12. For other references to Claudia's alleged exploit see Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 13. 27; Propertius v. (iv.) 11. 51-52; Statius, *Sylv.* i. 2. 245-246; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 2. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 120; Solinus, i. 126; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 46; Silius Italicus, xvii. 23-47; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* ii. 7; Appian, *Punica*, vii. 9. 56; Herodian, i. 11; Julian, *Or.* v. pp. 207 *sq.* ed. Hertlein.

[2] So Aurelius Victor, Herodian, and Julian, *ll.cc.*

[3] Appian, *Punica*, vii. 9. 56.

[4] Livy, xxix. 14. 12, "*Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, accepere*".

[5] Appian, Herodian, Julian, and Aurelius Victor, *ll.cc.*

[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 64; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 11.

[7] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République romaine*, i. 353 *sq.*

[8] Müller-Weiseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. pl. lxiii. fig. 816; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 800, fig. 864; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, i. 2, p. 1684, fig. 2243.

whatever it was that the pedestal supported, was dedicated to the Mother of the Gods and the Saviour Ship (*Navi Salviae*) by Claudia Synthyche or Syntyche in fulfilment of a vow.[1] This dedication, which appears to deify the ship on which the goddess sailed up the Tiber, has puzzled the commentators.[2] But Ovid himself has recorded that in the course of the voyage up the Tiber the poop of the ship was crowned, incense burned, and an unblemished heifer sacrificed.[3] It is true that these marks of honour may have been rendered to the goddess rather than to the ship which bore her ; but popular religion would easily confuse the two objects of worship, and it is quite possible, as has been suggested,[4] that the poet is alluding to an annual rite of homage paid to the vessel that had brought the goddess from afar for the salvation of Rome.

With this possible rite we may perhaps compare a real rite observed at Athens. When Theseus sailed on his adventurous voyage, with twice seven children on board, to beard the Minotaur in his den, the Athenians vowed to Apollo that if Theseus and the children should return safe, they would send every year a sacred embassy to Delos, the god's holy isle. Their prayer was heard, and they kept their vow. The ship in which Theseus had sailed and returned in safety was preserved, like Nelson's ship the " Victory " at Portsmouth, as a sacred relic, in constant repair, the old and rotten timbers being replaced from time to time by new and sound ones, down to the end of the fourth century B.C.[5] And every year a ship was sent on the sacred mission to Delos. Before it sailed the priest of Apollo solemnly crowned its poop, and during its absence Athens was in a state of ceremonial purity and no criminal might be executed. It chanced that the crowning of the ship took place the day before Socrates was condemned to death, so that the sentence could not be carried out till the vessel came back. On the day after its return the sentence was executed. The sun was setting and the wonderful

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 4096, 4097.

[2] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 58 ; H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* pp. 66-68.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 335 *sq.*

[4] H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, p. 68.

[5] Plutarch, *Theseus*, 23. 1.

purple glow of its departing light lingered on the slopes of Hymettus when the philosopher drained the poisoned cup.[1]

The noble Claudian house, of which Claudia Quinta was a member, was of Sabine origin. They traced their descent from Attus (or Attius or Atta) Clausus who migrated from Regillum, a town in the Sabine country, some five or six years after the expulsion of the kings. He brought with him a numerous body of clients, and changing his name to Appius Claudius became the founder of the illustrious Claudian family, which afterwards gave several emperors to Rome.[2] It was observed by the learned that down to the reign of Tiberius no stranger had ever been admitted by adoption into this patrician house, the members of which traced their descent in an unbroken line from Attus Clausus.[3] It is to this Attus Clausus that Ovid refers in the present passage.

In Ovid's account of the arrival of the Mother of the Gods, the goddess sails up the Tiber in a ship or barge to Rome; the poet describes the stages of the voyage, and how at one place the ship was moored to the bank for the night (lines 331 *sqq.*). Livy's account is different. According to him, the sacred image was landed at Ostia and carried by relays of matrons to Rome.[4] Popular tradition naturally favoured the miraculous version of the story, which the poet has embellished, but we may surmise that Livy's version is the truer to history.

IV. 326. **My story is a strange one, but it is attested by the stage.**—From this it appears that Claudia's traditionary exploit was acted on the stage, probably at the festival of the Megalesia, of which theatrical performances formed a part.[5] These dramatic performances were first exhibited under the superintendence of the Curule Aediles in 194 B.C.,[6] and they

[1] Plato, *Phaedo*, pp. 58 A-C, 59 D, E, 116 B and E. With regard to the evening glow on Hymettus, as seen from Athens, I may refer to my note on Pausanias, i. 32. 1 (vol. ii. p. 425).

[2] Livy, ii. 16. 4-5, iv. 3. 14, x. 8. 6; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 9, xi. 24, xii. 25; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 1. 1; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 706-709; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 706; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* v. 40. 3 (who calls the founder of the family Titus Claudius). Compare Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, iii. 2, coll. 2662 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Claudius".

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 25.

[4] Livy, xxix. 14. 12-13.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 187.

[6] Livy, xxxiv. 54. 3.

were repeated three years later, in 191 B.C., when the temple of the goddess was dedicated.[1]

IV. 337. **They came to a bend in the river, where the stream turns away to the left: men of old named it the Halls of Tiber.** — The point described by the poet appears to be the last bend which the Tiber makes before entering the sea. After flowing for some distance from north to south, the river makes a sudden turn almost at right angles and flows roughly in a westerly direction into the Mediterranean. The bend is made at a point a little south of the modern village of Ostia. But down to the year A.D. 1557 the course of the Tiber at this point had been different; the river had flowed beside the site of the modern village of Ostia, making a sort of loop or elbow to the north of its present course. But on the 15th September 1557 the river rose in a great flood and broke through the neck of land which separated the two arms of the loop, thus creating for itself a new and shorter passage to the sea and deserting its old bed, which has since remained a dead river, *fiume morte*, as the Italians call it. Thus it would seem that the bend of the river described by the poet cannot have coincided with its present bend, but must have been situated some hundreds of yards farther to the north, in the bed of the dead river, at or about the site of the modern hamlet of Ostia. The exact spot, where, down to 1557, the river formerly made its seaward bend, is marked approximately by the Rocca, as it is called, or castle (*castello*) of Ostia, a picturesque fortress which was built between 1481 and 1486 by the Cardinal d'Estouteville and the Cardinal Julian de Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II.) for the express purpose of dominating the river at this important point. The Tiber then washed the walls of the castle and filled its moat, though now, in consequence of the change of the river's bed, the old fortress commands nothing but dry land.[2] It was here, perhaps, that King Ancus Martius built and fortified the

[1] Livy, xxxvi. 36. 4.

[2] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), pp. 504-507, 526 *sqq.*, with the map at the end of the volume. An old map showing the former course of the river in 1557 is reproduced by Th. Ashby, in his paper, "Recent Discoveries at Ostia", *Journal of Roman Studies*, ii. (1912) facing p. 155. The same old map is reproduced by J. Carcopino, *op. cit.* fig. 28, facing p. 508.

town of Ostia. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the king built the town " in the elbow between the river and the sea ".[1] More loosely Festus writes that Ancus Martius founded Ostia " at the mouth of the Tiber, where it flows into the sea ",[2] which need not exclude a situation a little way up the stream. Here, too, at Ostia, on the site afterwards occupied by the regal city, Virgil seems to have made Aeneas pitch his camp, the first Trojan settlement in Italy.[3]

Whether the bend of the Tiber of which Ovid speaks be the present bend or the older and now dried up bend at the Rocca or Castle of Ostia (and we must allow the possibility of repeated changes since Ovid's time), the poet is right in in saying that the stream here makes a bend to the left ; for, ascending the stream from its mouth, as Ovid does in imagination, the voyager comes to a point where the river bed, after following a direction roughly from west to east, suddenly turns to the north, therefore to the traveller's left-hand side. Of course, had he been descending the river, he would have said that at this point the river turns abruptly to the right, that is, westward.

With regard to the name the Halls of Tiber (*Atria Tiberina*), by which, as Ovid tells us, this bend of the river was formerly known, it is held by the eminent French scholar, J. Carcopino, who has investigated the early history of Ostia in a learned and ingenious monograph, that the name furnishes an indication of an old Etruscan settlement which preceded the city built by King Ancus Martius at this strategic point of the river ; for by some learned men in antiquity the name *atrium* (" hall ") was believed to be derived from Etruria.[4]

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 44. 4.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* " Ostiam ", p. 214 ed. Lindsay, " *Ostiam urbem ad exitum Tiberis in mare fluentis Ancus Martius rex condidisse et feminino appellasse vocabulo fertur* ".

[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 31, ix. 238 ; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 517 *sqq.*

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 161, " *Atrium appellatum ab Atriatibus Tuscis : illinc enim exemplum sumptum* " ; Festus, *s.v.* " Atrium ", p. 12 ed. Lindsay, " *Dictum autem atrium vel quia id genus aedificii Atriae primum in Etruria sit institutum, vel quod a terra oriatur, quasi aterrium* " ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 726, "*Alii dicunt* Atria *Etruriae civitatem fuisse, quae domos amplis vestibulis habebat, quae cum Romani imitarentur*, atria *appellaverunt* ". On the supposed Etruscan settlement at Ostia see J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 527 *sqq.*

IV. 337. **There is a place where the smooth Almo flows into the Tiber.** — In the following lines Ovid describes the solemn rite of bathing the image of the Mother of the Gods in the water of the brook Almo, a small tributary of the Tiber. Under the Empire, the rite was observed on the twenty-seventh of March, forming the conclusion of the great vernal festival of the Mother of the Gods and Attis, which began on March twenty-second and lasted six days. On the first day (March 22) a pine-tree was cut in the woods and brought into the sanctuary of the goddess, where it was treated as a great divinity. Tied to the middle of the trunk was the effigy of a young man, doubtless Attis himself, and round the trunk were twined wreaths of violets, the flower which was thought to have sprung from the blood of Attis. On the second day (March 23) there was a lustration of trumpets, but this seems originally to have had no connexion with the festival of the Mother of the Gods. The third day (March 24) was called the Day of Blood; on it the high-priest or archigallus drew blood from his arms and presented it as an offering, while the inferior clergy gashed their bodies with potsherds or slashed them with knives in order to bespatter the altar and the sacred tree with their flowing blood. It was on this day probably that devotees sacrificed their virility. The fourth day (March 25, which was reckoned the spring equinox [1]) was a festival of joy (*Hilaria*), a sort of carnival, probably to celebrate the resurrection of Attis, whose death had apparently been mourned over an effigy of him on the preceding day or night. The fifth day (March 26) was given to repose. The sixth day (March 27) was the Day of Washing (*Lavatio*), when the image of the Mother of the Gods was bathed in the Almo. This concluded the festival.[2] The central feature of the festival

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, ix. 14. 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 246; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 21. 10; L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 124.

[2] As to the festival see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 266 *sqq.*, with the references to the ancient authorities. Compare *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 313-314; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] pp. 370 *sqq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, pp. 291 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Baumkultus*, pp. 572 *sqq.*; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 318 *sqq.*; H. Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 147 *sqq.*; J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire Romain*, ii. (Paris, 1911) pp. 82 *sqq.*; H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 120-140.

seems to have been the simulated death and resurrection of Attis at the spring equinox, a most appropriate season for the revival of a god of vegetation, as Attis appears primarily to have been. There are reasons to think that the Christian festival of Easter, in celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ, was to some extent modelled upon and timed to coincide with the pagan festival of the death and resurrection of Attis, to which, at all events, it presents a close analogy, particularly in the form which the festival has assumed in the ritual of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Southern Europe.[1]

Of all this long and elaborate festival, the only part of which Ovid, our oldest authority on the festival, makes mention is the washing of the image of the goddess in the Almo, and he notices it, not under March 27, the day on which it was regularly observed, but under April 4, the day on which the image originally arrived in Rome; indeed, he describes the ceremony as if it had been performed on the very day of her arrival, which is improbable. The only inference which we can draw from his silence as to the rest of the festival is that it had not been instituted at the time when he was writing. This inference is confirmed by the silence of the ancient calendars, for the only calendar in which all the days of the festival are recorded under their proper titles is that of Philocalus,[2] which was not composed until A.D. 354, after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. According to Joannes Lydus, it was the Emperor Claudius who instituted the ceremony of bringing in the sacred pine-tree,[3] which was observed on the first day of the festival; hence, it is natural to refer the introduction of the remaining ceremonies, with the exception of the ceremonial bath on the last day, to that weak and foolish emperor.[4] However, it has been argued by Wissowa that the great vernal festival, in its full form, was not celebrated at Rome before the middle of the second century of our area.[5] But the evidence on which he rests

[1] For the evidence see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 253 *sqq.*, 305 *sqq.*

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 260.

[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 60, p. 113 ed. Wuensch.

[4] Compare H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 115 *sq.*; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*[2] (Paris, 1909), pp. 83 *sq.*

[5] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 322 *sqq.*

this conclusion is mostly negative, which is a weak prop for any argument, apt to pierce the hand that leans on it.

The description which Ovid gives of the washing of the image of the goddess is confirmed and supplemented by the testimony of other writers. The silver image of the goddess, in which the original jagged black stone was inserted to form the face, sat in a waggon drawn by oxen. Preceded by the nobles walking barefoot, it moved slowly to the music of pipes and tambourines, out by the Capene Gate, and so down to the banks of the Almo, which flows into the Tiber just below the walls of Rome. There the high-priest, in his purple robe, washed the waggon, the image, and the other sacred objects in the water of the stream. On returning from their bath, the wain and the oxen were strewn with fresh spring flowers. All was mirth and gaiety. No one thought of the blood that had flowed so lately. Even the eunuch priests forgot their wounds.[1] The custom of bathing the image of the goddess was not peculiar to Rome. It formed part of the festival in Phrygia, whence the custom was doubtless borrowed by the Romans.[2] At Cyzicus the Placianian Mother, a form of the Mother of the Gods, was served by women called " marine ", whose duty it probably was to wash her image in the sea.[3] At Carthage the image of the goddess was carried to the bath in a litter instead of a waggon.[4]

The custom of annually bathing the image of the Mother of the Gods has been variously interpreted. According to one theory, proposed by H. Hepding, the festival of Joy (*Hilaria*) on March 25 celebrated the marriage of the Great Mother with Attis, and the bath of the goddess on March 27 was a ceremonial purification rendered obligatory by the

[1] In addition to the present passage of Ovid see Lucan, i. 599 *sq.*; Silius Italicus, viii. 365; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* viii. 239 *sqq.*; Martial, iii. 47. 1 *sq.*; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3. 7; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 32; Prudentius, *Peristephan.* x. 154 *sqq.* Elsewhere (*Metamorph.* xiv. 329) Ovid mentions that the course of the Almo was a very short one. The ceremony of the washing (*lavatio*) is noted under March, but without the day, in the *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum*. See *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 280; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8745.

[2] Arrian, *Tactica*, 33.

[3] Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, pp. 403 *sq.*, No. 537.

[4] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ii. 4.

exercise of the sexual functions. Of such a purification there are many traces in Greek mythology.[1] A serious objection to this view is that in the ancient accounts of the great vernal festival there appears to be no hint of a sacred marriage of Attis to the Great Mother; all the vehement demonstrations of grief and joy which characterized the festival seem to have centred round the death and resurrection of Attis and not round his nuptials: the lamentations which were a conspicuous feature of the festival would be utterly out of place at a marriage.[2] Another theory, held by W. Mannhardt, is that the bathing of the image in the brook was a charm designed to procure a due supply of rain on the principle of sympathetic magic.[3] Certain it is that it has been customary in many lands to dip holy images in water for the express purpose of causing rain to fall. In France the images of saints have often been plunged in water as a rain-charm;[4] and since the saints have replaced the ancient gods in popular religion, we may suppose that where saints are now ducked gods were ducked before. A writer of the sixteenth century says: "This custom of dragging crucifixes and images in the river in order to get rain is still practised in Gascony, and I have seen it done at Toulouse, in broad daylight, by the little children before the whole people, who call it the *tiremasse*; and there was a certain one who threw all the images into the well of the Salin, in the year 1557; then the rain fell in abundance".[5] In Mingrelia, when the crops are suffering from want of rain, the people take a very holy image and dip it in water daily till a shower falls.[6] In the Presidency of Bombay "it is a common practice to submerge the image of Shiva in water with the object of bringing rain. Similarly, the image of the goddess Harshadh

[1] H. Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 175 note [7], 215-217.

[2] Compare Suetonius, *Otho*, 8. 3, "*Eo die, quo cultores deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt*".

[3] W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), p. 295.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i. pp. 307 *sq.* To the evidence there adduced add J. Bourilly, *La Vie populaire dans les Bouches-du-Rhone* (Marseille, 1921), p. 92; H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, p. 137 note.

[5] J. Bodin, *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers* (Paris, 1580), Livre Second, chap. viii. pp. 112-113.

[6] Lamberti, "Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrélie", *Voyages au Nord*, vii. 174 (Amsterdam edition).

is sometimes bathed when rain is desired. The male and the female attendants of the goddess are at the same time given a bath, and an offering of rice cooked in milk sweetened with sugar is made to the goddess."[1] These examples support Mannhardt's interpretation of the Roman rite. Nothing could be more natural than that this form of sympathetic magic should be employed to extract a supply of rain from the Great Mother Goddess, who was imagined to incorporate the whole life of nature.

IV. 347. **Nasica received her.**—The Delphic oracle had prescribed that on her arrival in Rome the Mother of the Gods should be hospitably received by the best man in the city.[2] The selection of the best man devolved on the Senate, who felt some embarrassment in awarding a distinction more coveted than any of the usual civil or military honours. At last their choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who had held a command in Spain, where he fell in battle. He was a cousin of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. Young in years, he had not yet attained to the rank of quaestor; and Livy confessed himself ignorant of the virtues which had earned the young man so enviable a distinction.[3] We have seen how he honourably discharged the trust committed to him;[4] though it does not appear that he received the image of the goddess in his house while her temple was building, as one ancient historian seems to imply.[5] From Livy's narrative we gather that the goddess was temporarily lodged in the temple of Victory on the Palatine till her own temple should be ready to receive her.[6] No lodging could be more appropriate. She had come from far to bring victory to the Roman arms. Where could she better be housed than in the temple of Victory? The very name was a happy omen, and as such was doubtless accepted by the crowds that gathered to cheer her and escort her, to the crash of drums and cymbals, up the slope of the Palatine.

[1] R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), p. 318.
[2] Livy, xxix. 11. 6-8.
[3] Livy, xxix. 14. 6-9; Appian, *Punica*, vii. 9. 56; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 46; Silius Italicus, xvii. 10-17; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 9. 5.
[4] Above, p. 238.
[5] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 46.
[6] Livy, xxix. 14. 14.

The exact site of the temple of Victory on the Palatine is uncertain. The ascent to the Palatine was by the Slope of Victory (*Clivus Victoriae*), which doubtless took its name from the temple. This slope began at the Roman Gate (*Porta Romana*), traditionally said to have been built by Romulus,[1] which seems to have stood on the western side of the Palatine, near the site of the present church of S. Teodoro. The modern path leads from the entrance north of the church towards the hill, then turns to the left and skirting the cliff on the right ascends to the northern corner of the hill, where it turns abruptly to the right and passes under the vast masses of masonry which are commonly called the House of Caligula, though they probably belong to a much later period. This path is the line of an ancient road, which was probably the Slope of Victory; the pavement is still in existence. Now at a point on the western side of the Palatine, but somewhat low down, near the beginning of the presumed Slope of Victory, some fragments of inscriptions relating to Victory were found in the early part of the eighteenth century. Here accordingly Huelsen would place the site of the temple of Victory. To this it has been objected by O. Richter that the site is too low down; for according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the sacred precinct of Victory was on the top of the hill,[2] and we should naturally expect to find the temple of Victory at the top rather than near the foot of the slope to which it gave its name.[3] The temple was dedicated in 294 B.C. by the consul L. Postumius. It had been built with the money which Postumius exacted as fines when he held the office of curule aedile.[4] The edifice is seldom mentioned in history, though the residence of the Mother of the Gods within its walls for some years lent it a temporary notoriety.

IV. 347. **The name of the founder of the temple has not survived; now it is Augustus; formerly it was Metellus.**— The temple of the Idaean Mother or Mother of the Gods was

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Romanam portam", p. 318 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 5.

[3] O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 135 *sq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 47 *sqq*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 138 *sq.*

[4] Livy, x. 33. 9.

contracted for by the censors Marcus Livius Salinator and Caius Claudius Nero in 204 B.C., the year in which her sacred image arrived in Rome,[1] but the temple was not dedicated until thirteen years later, in 191 B.C., when the ceremony was performed by the praetor Marcus Junius Brutus, and the occasion was celebrated by theatrical performances, which, according to the Roman historian Valerius Antias, were the first ever exhibited in Rome.[2] From a note in the Praenestine calendar we learn that the dedication took place on the tenth of April, and that games were held in the Circus on that day in honour of the Mother of the Gods.[3] The temple was twice burnt down, first in 111 B.C. and afterwards in A.D. 3.[4] On the former occasion it was restored, as we learn from the present passage of Ovid, by a certain Metellus, probably Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, who was consul in 109 B.C. and won great glory by his successful conduct of the war against Jugurtha in Africa. On the second occasion the temple was restored by Augustus, as Ovid here mentions ; the restoration is recorded by the Emperor himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.[5] Under the empire the temple seems to have been a haunt of loose women.[6]

The temple of the Great Mother was visible from the Aventine ;[7] hence it must have stood on the western brow of the Palatine hill. It has been identified with the ruins of a very ancient temple, built of peperino, which exist at the western point of the hill, immediately to the spectator's left when he has ascended the staircase of Cacus. Shaded by a grove of evergreen oaks, these venerable ruins are among the most picturesque on the hill. They have been identified as those of the temple of the Great Idaean Goddess by means of inscriptions and sculptures found on the spot. The sculptures include a fine torso of a large seated image of the goddess in Greek marble and fragments of seated lions, the favourite

[1] Livy, xxix. 37. 2.
[2] Livy, xxxvi. 36. 3-4.
[3] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 235, 315.
[4] Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 11 ; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 39 (99), p. 164 ed. Rossbach (as to the fire of 111 B.C.).
[5] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 8, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 26 ed Diehl^4, "*Aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci*".
[6] Juvenal, ix. 23 *sq.*
[7] Martial, vii. 73. 1-3

emblems of Cybele. Of the edifice itself there remain foundations, portions of the massive walls of the cella, standing in places to a height of over twenty feet, a staircase leading up to the temple, and very many architectural fragments, including pieces of fluted columns, Corinthian capitals, and entablature. From these remains it appears that the temple was of the Corinthian order, built in the style called prostyle and hexastyle, that is, it had a portico with six columns in front. The stone is peperino, coated with white stucco, of which there are still traces in the flutings of the columns. The temple measured about 116 feet in length by 49 feet in breadth. It was orientated north and south, with the face to the south. A monumental staircase, of at least eighteen steps, led up to the front of the temple. From the head of the staircase, looking southward, the eye ranges over the valley of the Circus Maximus to the northern slopes of the Aventine, the banks of the Tiber, and the depression where the highroad from Ostia enters Rome. Thus seated in her temple on the brow of the hill the goddess could watch at her ease the games performed in her honour in the Circus below; we need not suppose that these games were ever held immediately in front of her temple, where there was no room for the performers, still less for the thousands of spectators who thronged to witness them. Perhaps on sultry summer days the distant view of the white high-road wending away to Ostia may have reminded the goddess and her ministers of the far Asiatic highlands from which they had come to Rome, and they may have sighed for the pure air and peace of their old mountain home by contrast with the smoke and hubbub of the capital of the world.[1]

It was argued by O. Richter [2] that the ruins just described were those of the temple of Victory, not of the Mother of the Gods. He would identify with the temple of the Mother of

[1] As to the temple of Cybele see J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 165 *sq.*; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 135-139; R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 134-136, with fig. 49 (p. 130) and fig. 51 (p. 135) (the statue); H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 51-54; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*[4], pp. 93 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 139 *sq.*; L. Homo, *La Rome antique*, pp. 33 *sq.*

[2] O. Richter, *l.c.*

the Gods the ruins of another temple situated also on the western face of the Palatine at a distance of some fifty yards south-east from the other. Little remains of this other temple except a platform faced with blocks of tufa and portions of a monumental staircase descending in twenty-six steps towards the Circus Maximus. This temple is conjecturally identified with that of Victor Jupiter, which is mentioned by Ovid later on.[1] Richter's proposed identifications appear to have met with no acceptance.

IV. 350. **" Why ", said I, " does the goddess collect money in small coins ? "**—In the processions of Cybele or the Mother of the Gods her ministers solicited alms in the shape of small coins from the spectators, after the fashion of the begging friars of the Middle Ages.[2] The Greeks had a regular name (*metragyrtes*) for these begging friars of Cybele.[3] It is said that the first of this fry who showed his face in Athens received an exceedingly short shrift, being thrown head foremost into the pit where criminals met their end. But a pestilence breaking out shortly afterwards, an oracle warned the Athenians to propitiate the ghost of the murdered friar, who was clearly responsible for the calamity. So they filled up the pit, built a council-house on the scene of the murder, fenced it about, and dedicated it to the Mother of the Gods ; and they set up a statue of the deceased friar, after which we may be quite sure that they were never again troubled by his ghost.[4] In his ideal state Cicero proposed to suppress pious mendicants, on the ground that they filled the minds of people with superstition and emptied their pockets ; but curiously enough he made an exception in favour of the ministers of the Idaean Mother, whom he would suffer to continue their solicitations during the few days of the festival when they were on the prowl.[5] In the days of Augustine these fellows, with their whitened faces and scented locks, were still to be seen begging for their livelihood in the streets and squares of Carthage.[6] Ovid is

[1] *Fasti*, iv. 621 *sq.*, with the note.
[2] Lucretius, ii. 626 *sq.* ; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 1. 39 *sq.*
[3] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 2. 10 ; Athenaeus, xii. 58, p. 541 e.
[4] Suidas, *s.v.* μητραγύρτης. Compare Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 431.
[5] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 9. 2, ii. 16. 40.
[6] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 26.

no doubt mistaken in supposing that the custom of thus levying contributions on the pious was instituted to defray the cost of rebuilding the temple after the fire of 111 B.C. For a century earlier, in 212 B.C., the Senate, with the fear of Hannibal before their eyes, decreed that, as an infallible means of ensuring victory, games should be held in the Circus Maximus in honour of Apollo, and that, while the performances were going on, the hat should circulate among the spectators, and everybody should drop into it as many coppers as he or she could spare. To these sage measures for terminating the war they were instigated by a mountebank named Marcius, who produced oracles with which, according to his own account, he had been favoured by Jupiter. The games thus instituted were afterwards continued. The spectators wore wreaths of laurel and paid their pennies.[1] Such collections for religious purposes were made in the form of copper coins (*asses*), for which in this connexion the regular term was *stips*,[2] the word employed by Ovid in the present passage. No doubt merit was supposed to attach to gifts thus made for pious uses, and a corresponding benefit to accrue to the givers. In consequence of a dream the emperor Augustus used to beg small coins of the populace on a certain day every year, holding out his hand to receive the coppers which the people dropped into it.[3] The crazy Caligula used in like manner to stand at the door of his palace to receive the small coins which the obsequious crowd showered on him.[4]

IV. 353. **I asked why then more than at other times people entertain each other to feasts.**—The banquets to which patricians invited each other at the festival of the Megalensia (Megalesia) bore a special name (*mutitationes*), which Ovid, following Verrius Flaccus, explains by saying that on that day the goddess changed (*mutarit*) her home from Phrygia to Rome.[5] The amount which nobles might spend on these banquets was limited by a decree of the Senate; they had to swear

[1] Livy, xxv. 12; Festus, *s.v.* "Apollinares ludos", p. 21, ed. Lindsay.
[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 182.
[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 91. 2. [4] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 42.
[5] Note of Verrius Flaccus in the Praenestine calendar under April 4. See *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 235, 314; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8844ª. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 181, above, p. 199.

solemnly before the consuls that they would not exceed the prescribed sum, that they would drink no foreign wines, and that their silver plate should not weigh more than one hundred pounds.[1] Plebeians feasted not, like the patricians, at the Megalensia, the festival of the Great Mother, on the fourth of April, but at the Cerealia, the festival of Ceres, which fell eight days later, on the twelfth of April. The question why that was so formed one of the problems which Aulus Gellius and his friends propounded to each other at the Saturnalia, and somebody solved it and received a prize of books for so doing; but what the solution was, the author has not recorded.[2]

IV. 361. **Why then do we give the name of Galli to the men who unman themselves, when the Gallic land is so far from Phrygia?** — The unsexed ministers of Cybele or the Great Mother bore the name of Galli (in the singular, Gallus), as Ovid here observes. The derivation of the name which the poet gives in the following lines was commonly accepted in antiquity. The Galli were believed to be so called after a river Gallus, which flowed near Pessinus in Phrygia, and on whose banks the orgiastic rites of the Great Mother were performed. It was supposed that to drink of the water of the river drove the drinker mad and instigated him in his frenzy to sacrifice his manhood.[3] However, according to another account, the river Gallus took its name from the Galli, having formerly been known as the Tyras.[4] The name Gallus seems to have been regarded as equivalent to Attis.[5] It is the very same word which the Romans applied to the Gauls; hence Ovid's surprise that a Phrygian order of priests should be called Galli or Gauls, when Gaul was so far from Phrygia. But it is to be remembered that there were Gauls in Asia Minor, who gave their name to Galatia,

[1] Aulus Gellius, ii. 24. 2. [2] Aulus Gellius, xviii. 2. 11 and 15.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Galli", p. 84 ed. Lindsay; Herodian, i. 11. 2; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Γάλλος, p. 220, lines 22 *sqq.* The property ascribed to the water is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 9), and the river is noted by Strabo (xii. 3. 7, p. 543); but neither of these writers notices the connexion of the river with the worship of the Great Mother.

[4] Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Γάλλος.

[5] Julian, *Or.* v. p. 214, lines 4 *sq.* ed. Hertlein, θέον γόνιμον Ἄττιν εἶναι καὶ Γάλλον πεπιστεύκαμεν; Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, 4, p. 8 ed. A. D. Nock.

the province which bordered on Phrygia. Mommsen, indeed, supposed that the emasculated priests of Cybele were actually Gauls, who continued to be known by their national name after they had left their native land ; [1] but this opinion appears to be generally discarded for the view that Gallus in this sense was a native Asiatic name for these priests.[2] Whatever the origin of their name, the Romans in the great days of Rome seem to have heartily despised them as wretches of the lowest class and the worst character. Juvenal describes one of the fraternity lying drunk on his back in a low tavern at Ostia, among cut-throats, bargees, thieves, runaway slaves, hangmen, and coffin-makers, with his kettledrum silent beside him.[3] Martial says that when one of these gentry was hungry he would not scruple to sell the cymbals that had mourned the dead Attis and the Celaenian Mother, left forlorn.[4] And Tibullus would let the man who hath no ear for music, who sells his venal love, follow the car of the Idaean Mother, roam a vagabond through towns unnumbered, and slash his worthless body to the Phrygian tunes.[5]

IV. 367. **" They think no shame ", said I, " to set a dish of herbs on the tables of the Mistress. Is there a good reason at the bottom of it ? "**—The exact composition of the dish of herbs (*moretum*) here mentioned by Ovid is described by the author of the poem of that name, which is attributed to Virgil. The dish consisted of garlic, parsley, rue, and coriander, pounded in a mortar with cheese, salt, olive oil, and vinegar.[6] This savoury mess of pottage formed, with bread, the ploughman's frugal fare on winter mornings, when, rising at cockcrow, he had groped his way to the still glimmering hearth, and with his breath blown up the smouldering embers.[7]

IV. 373. **When the next Dawn shall have shone in the sky.**—Here and elsewhere [8] Ovid calls the Dawn by the name

[1] Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), ii. 427, " The government strictly insisted that the emasculate priests of the new gods should remain Celts (*Galli*) as they were called ".

[2] F. Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vii. 2, coll. 674 *sq.*, *s.v.* " Gallos ".

[3] Juvenal, viii. 171-176.

[4] Martial, xiv. 204.

[5] Tibullus, i. 4. 67-70. See further H. Graillot. *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 317 *sq.*

[6] Virgil, *Moretum*, 87-118.

[7] Virgil, *Moretum*, 1 *sqq.*

[8] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 421, xv. 191, 700.

Pallantias, regarding her as the daughter of Pallas, who, according to Hesiod, was the father of Emulation, Victory, Strength, and Violence, but not of Dawn.[1] In another passage, a few lines before, Hesiod describes Dawn as a daughter of Hyperion and Theia.[2] Can Ovid have confused the two passages in his mind? Hesiod's genealogy of Dawn is accepted by Apollodorus and Hyginus.[3]

IV. 375. **"On this day of old the temple of Public Fortune was dedicated on the hill of Quirinus."**—Thus, according to Ovid, a temple of Public Fortune on the Quirinal hill was dedicated on the fifth of April. The statement is confirmed by, and indeed may have been derived from, a note of Verrius Flaccus in the Praenestine calendar under the fifth of April,[4] from which we learn that the goddess of Public Fortune who owned this temple on the hill was qualified as the Inner (*Citerior*), no doubt to distinguish her temple from two other temples of Fortune which are known to have stood in this neighbourhood. So in London we have an Inner Temple and a Middle Temple, though the Outer Temple has long vanished. Crinagoras, a Greek epigrammatic poet, a contemporary of Ovid, mentions the Three Fortunes, that is, the three temples of Fortune, in an epigram addressed to a certain Crispus, who is thought to be the same Sallustius Crispus to whom Horace addressed an ode on the proper use of wealth.[5] In the epigram Crinagoras declares that Crispus deserves to have for his neighbours not only the Three Fortunes but all the Fortunes of all the world to reward him for the riches of his heart.[6] The Three Fortunes, that is, the three temples of Fortune, are also mentioned by Vitruvius, who speaks of one of them as the nearest to the Colline Gate.[7] In 204 B.C. the consul P. Sempronius Sophus vowed a temple to Firstborn Fortune (*Fortuna Primigenia*) if he should defeat the Carthaginians in battle;[8] and ten

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.* 383 *sqq.* Compare Apollodorus, i. 2. 4.
[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 371-374.
[3] Apollodorus, i. 2. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30 ed. Bunte.
[4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 235, 315, "*Fortunae publicae citerio(ri) in colle*".
[5] Horace, *Odes*, ii. 2.
[6] *Anthologia Palatina*, xvi. 40.
[7] Vitruvius, iii. 2. 2 (p. 69 ed. V. Rose et H. Müller-Strübing), "*Huius autem exemplar erit ad tres Fortunas ex tribus quae est proxime portam Collinam*".
[8] Livy, xxix. 36. 8.

years later, in 194 B.C., the temple was dedicated on the Quirinal hill by Quintus Marcius Ralla, who had been specially appointed, with another colleague, for the purpose.[1] But whether this was the temple of Public Fortune here mentioned by Ovid, we do not know. In 169 B.C. the sacristans of two temples of Fortune in Rome announced that prodigies had happened in the sacred edifices committed to their care. In one of them a crested snake had been seen by several persons ; in the other, which was on the Quirinal, a palm-tree had sprung up in the courtyard and a shower of blood had fallen down.[2] But whether the temple here mentioned by Ovid was the scene of these alarming portents, there is nothing to show. Some large substructions, built of fine concrete, which were discovered in 1887 at the point where the Via Flavia crosses the Via Servio Tullio, have been thought to belong to one of the three temples of Fortune.[3]

Another temple was dedicated to Public Fortune on the twenty-fifth of May.[4] In the Caeretan calendar under that date the goddess is called the Public Fortune of the Roman People on the Quirinal Hill ; [5] in the Venusian calendar she is termed the Firstborn Fortune on the hill.[6] Hence it has been thought, perhaps rightly, that this was the temple of Firstborn Fortune which was vowed in 204 B.C. and dedicated in 194 B.C.[7] A temple of Firstborn Fortune on the hill was also dedicated on the thirteenth of November.[8] Thus we know the days of dedication of three temples of Fortune on the Quirinal hill, probably the Three Fortunes mentioned by Crinagoras and Vitruvius.

The adjective Firstborn (*primigenia*), which was apparently applied to the goddess in two at least of the three temples, was the peculiar epithet bestowed on Fortune at Praeneste, where she was supposed to be the firstborn child of Jupiter, as we learn from archaic inscriptions found on the spot. Thus on a bronze tablet is engraved a dedication as follows :

[1] Livy, xxxiv. 53. 5.
[2] Livy, xliii. 13. 4.
[3] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 413 *sq.*
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 729 *sq.*
[5] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 213, 319.
[6] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 319.
[7] Aust, *De aedibus sacris Populi Romani*, pp. 20 *sq.* ; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 413.
[8] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 215, 335.

"I, Orcevia, daughter of Numerius, gave a gift to Fortune, Firstborn Daughter (*fileia primogenia*) of Jove, for the sake of the birth (of a child)".[1] The inscription is of interest in more ways than one, because it proves that Fortune was conceived of, not only as a daughter of Jove (Jupiter), but as a goddess who bestowed offspring on women. This function accords perfectly with the etymology of her name, which contains the root of the verb *ferre*, "to bear", "to bring forth". The rude statuettes of terra-cotta, representing a woman suckling a child, which have been found at Praeneste, are probably votive-offerings of women who, like Orcevia, had prayed to Fortune for offspring, and whose prayers had been answered.[2]

Another inscription found at Praeneste records a dedication "to Fortune, Firstborn Child (*puer primigenia*) of Jove", by a certain man, Nothus, who had received from the goddess an oracular lot which had enabled him to compass the object of his wishes.[3] The mention of the oracular lot refers to the ancient and very famous oracle of Fortune at Praeneste.[4] The responses of the goddess were inscribed in archaic letters on oaken tablets, which were kept in a chest of olive-wood. When anybody inquired of the oracle, a boy thrust his hand into the chest, shuffled the tablets about, and drew out one at haphazard. The writing on it purported to be the divine answer to the question. The spot where these tablets were discovered, through a revelation in a dream, was fenced about and religiously guarded.[5] The jealous

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3684, "*Orcevia Numeri nationu gratia Fortuna Diovo fileia Primogenia donom dedi*". Here *nationu gratia* means "for the sake of the birth (of a child)". The word *natio* (from the verb *nasci*, "to be born") is used of the birth of cattle by Festus, *s.v.* "Natio", p. 165 ed. Lindsay: "*In pecoribus quoque bonus proventus feturae bona natio dicitur*". So Varro, speaking of beasts that draw the plough, says that the females should be spared the labour when they are with young, because labour makes the birth (*natio*) more difficult. See Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 6. 4. The phrase *nationu gratia* has been rightly understood by G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 259.

[2] As to these statuettes see E. Fernique, *Étude sur Préneste* (Paris, 1880), pp. 78 *sq.*

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3685, "*Fortunae Iovis puero primigeniae d. d. ex sorte compos factus Nothus Ruficanae L. f. Plotillae*". Here *puer* is used in the old sense of "child", whether boy or girl.

[4] Strabo, v. 3. 11, p. 238.

[5] Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 41. 5. As to the oracle at Praeneste see E. Fernique, *Étude sur Préneste* (Paris, 1880), pp. 86 *sqq.*; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 147 *sqq.*

tyrant Tiberius endeavoured to suppress the oracles in the neighbourhood of Rome, lest his subjects should resort to them and pry into the future concerning his death. But his impious attempt on the lots of Praeneste was miraculously baffled. For though he caused the chest containing the lots to be brought to Rome, when the chest was opened the lots were not there, and they did not reappear until the chest had been carried back to its old home at Praeneste.[1] Beside the spot where the oracles were delivered, or at least where the original tablets were discovered, there stood an image of Fortune suckling the infants Jupiter and Juno, who were seated in her lap. The infant Jupiter in the arms of his divine mother, and reaching at her breast, was adored as tenderly by human mothers in antiquity [2] as the infant Jesus in the arms of the Madonna is adored by pious women in modern times, and doubtless from the same maternal instinct which prompts a woman to desire and to cherish a child.

Thus at Praeneste the goddess Fortune appears to have been conceived in the double character of the daughter and the mother, or at all events, the nursing mother, of Jupiter. This union of relationships, which to the ordinary mind seem irreconcileable, has naturally puzzled those mythologists who persist in the Sisyphean task of extracting modern sense from ancient nonsense. One of their expedients is to deny that *fileia primogenia* and *puer primigenia* mean "firstborn daughter" and "firstborn child",[3] though it is hard to see how the words can mean anything else, and though the adjective *primigenia* was certainly understood in its plain sense by Plutarch.[4] The Greeks also worshipped Firstborn Fortune under a name which leaves no room for ambiguity.[5]

[1] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 63. 1.

[2] Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 41. 85, "*Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam appetens castissime colitur a matribus*".

[3] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 64 *sqq.*; H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 83 *sq.*, 212.

[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 106, Διὰ τί Ῥωμαῖοι τύχην σέβονται Πριμιγένειαν, ἣν ἄν τις εἴποι πρωτογένειαν.

[5] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 1133, Τύχηι Πρωτογενείαι; *id.*, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 119, Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Τύχηι Πρωτογενηίαι. In the latter inscription, found at Itanus in Crete, Firstborn Fortune is coupled with Zeus (Jupiter), as at Praeneste.

If, as is possible, they borrowed the epithet from the Latin, their translation of it is a conclusive proof of the sense in which they understood the word. A third inscription found at Praeneste contains a dedication to " Fortune, child of Jove ", without the epithet Firstborn.[1] Thus the very stones of Praeneste have risen up to confound the impious modern sceptics who would deny the paternity of Jupiter. As for the difficulty of believing that the god was at once the Father and the Son of Fortune, we need not suppose that it caused the good folk of Praeneste the least uneasiness. They probably accepted it as one of the mysteries of their faith. After all, the principle *credo quia impossibile est* is much older than Christianity.

IV. 379. **This was the famous day when on the Libyan shores Caesar crushed proud Juba's treacherous host.** — In the Praenestine calendar, which Ovid seems to have had before his eyes in writing the *Fasti*, there is a note under the sixth of April to the effect that " there is a holiday because on this day Caius Caesar conquered King (Juba) in Africa ".[2] The battle of Thapsus, in which Julius Caesar defeated the united forces of Lucius Scipio and Juba, king of Numidia, was fought in 46 B.C.[3]

IV. 383. **This seat I won in war, and thou didst win in peace, by reason of thine office in the College of the Ten.**—The " College of the Ten Men for the trial of suits " (*Decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*) was an ancient judicial board for the trial of private suits, not criminal cases. Augustus entrusted it with the duty of convoking the Court of the Hundred Men (*Centumviri*).[4] Elsewhere Ovid refers to his duties in connexion with the court of the Hundred Men.[5] From

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3686, " *Fortunae Iovi* (or *Iovis*) *puero* ". For four more inscriptions, found at Praeneste, containing dedications to Firstborn Fortune, in addition to those already cited, see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3687, 3688, 3687, 3688 (the numbers are erroneously repeated for the third and fourth inscriptions) (vol. ii. pars i. p. 89).

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 235, 315.

[3] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 14. 96 *sq.*; Dio Cassius, xliii. 7-9; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 52; Livy, *Per.* cxiv.

[4] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 36; Dio Cassius, liv. 26. 6. See W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7], pp. 196 *sq.*; Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 1,[2] pp. 590-592.

[5] Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 93 *sq.*

the present passage we gather that in the theatre special seats were assigned to the College of the Ten Men and to officers who had distinguished themselves in war. The reference cannot be to the fourteen rows of seats which the law of Roscius reserved for knights (*equites*) in the theatre ; [1] for Ovid, as an hereditary knight,[2] was entitled to sit there by birth, not merely by office. Augustus introduced new rules as to the seating of the audience in the theatre, reserving the first row of seats for senators, separating soldiers from civilians, and assigning separate seats to the Vestal Virgins.[3] The rule to which Ovid refers in the present passage may have been part of the new regulations.

IV. 386. **the Balance hung in heaven released the heavenly waters.**—In Caesar's calendar the setting of the constellation of the Balance fell on the eighth of April, and the day was marked rainy.[4] Ovid here probably refers to the true setting of the constellation at morning, which in his time began at Rome on the tenth of April. Columella correctly observes that the Balance begins to set at sunrise on the tenth of April, and he adds that its setting sometimes prognosticates a storm.[5] The apparent setting of the constellation at morning followed much later ; it began on the eighteenth of May, and one star of the constellation (β) did not set till the fourth of June.[6]

IV. 387. **But before the last day shall have put an end to the shows, sworded Orion will have sunk in the sea.**—In Ovid's time the apparent evening setting of the middle star in Orion's belt fell on the nineteenth of April, that of Rigel eight days earlier, and that of Betelgeuze nine days later. Thus the date (the ninth of April) assigned by Ovid for the setting of the constellation corresponds approximately to the date when the whole constellation appears to begin to set. The true setting of the three stars in Orion's belt fell between the

[1] Livy, *Per.* xcix. ; Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 18. 44 ; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 39. 2 ; *id.*, *Augustus*, 40. 1 ; W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities* [7], p. 75.

[2] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 7 *sq.*

[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 44.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 247.

[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 34.

[6] Ideler, " Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid ", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 158 *sq.*

twenty-sixth of April and the eleventh of May; and on the last of these days Ovid again refers to the setting of Orion.[1]

IV. 391. **the Circus will be thronged with a procession and an array of the gods.**—The games in the Circus on the tenth of April formed the conclusion of the Megalensia or Megalesia, the festival of the Great Mother, which began on the fourth of April. In the Maffeian calendar "games of the Great Mother" are marked on the fourth of April, and "games" (*ludi*) on each subsequent day up to and including the tenth of April, on which there is the fuller entry, "Games in the Circus",[2] thus entirely confirming the testimony of our author. Elsewhere Ovid has described the procession—the golden procession, as he calls it—of the images of the gods, which wound, in solemn state, round the Circus Maximus before the praetor gave the signal for starting the chariot-races. At the head of the procession moved an image of Victory with outspread wings; then followed Neptune, Mars, Apollo, Minerva, Ceres, Bacchus, Pollux and Castor, and Venus. When a false start was made in the race, the spectators called the chariots back by standing up and waving their gowns.[3] The procession with the images of the gods started from the Capitol and defiled through the Forum and the Velabrum before it reached the Circus Maximus.[4]

IV. 393. **Next come the games of Ceres.**—The games of Ceres were celebrated continuously from the twelfth to the nineteenth of April, as we learn from the Maffeian, Caeretan, and other ancient calendars; but it appears that only on the last day (the nineteenth) were the games celebrated in the Circus, for it is only under that day that "games in the circus" are entered in the Caeretan and Maffeian calendars, whereas under all the other days the entry is "games of Ceres" or simply "games", without any indication of the place where they were held.[5] From this we may infer that the games of Ceres held from the twelfth to the eighteenth of

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 493 *sq.* As to the astronomical date see Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 161 *sq.*

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 224; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8744 (vol. ii. pars ii. p. 989).

[3] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 2. 43-76.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 405, with the note.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 315. Compare Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 53 and 74.

April were not games in our sense of the word, but scenic performances in the theatre, which were by the Romans included under games (*ludi*). The games in the circus comprised horse-races.[1] We do not know when the games of Ceres were instituted. The first mention of them occurs in the year 202 B.C., when they were celebrated by a dictator and his master of the horse, because the plebeian aediles, who ordinarily had charge of them, were disqualified through some irregularity in their appointment, which forced them to abdicate their office.[2] But this implies that the games of Ceres were already at that time an established institution. Coins struck by Caius Memmius about 60 B.C. bear on the reverse a seated figure of Ceres holding three ears of corn in her right hand and a torch in her left, with the legend: "Memmius as aedile was the first to celebrate the games of Ceres".[3] But as the Memmius in question was obviously not the magistrate Caius Memmius who struck the coins, the legend gives no clue to the date when he instituted the games.

Ceres was a native Italian goddess of vegetation who was afterwards identified, naturally enough, with Demeter, the Greek goddess of the corn. In her original form she seems to have had a male partner or husband named Cerus, who in the ancient hymn of the Salii, was invoked as *Cerus manus*, that is, "Good creator".[4] This coupling of the goddess with a god of the same name is evidence of the native antiquity of the pair; and a further proof of it is furnished by the assignment of a flamen, with the title *flamen Cerialis*, to their worship at Rome,[5] for none but genuine old Italian deities were served by flamens, whose sacred office was probably far older than the foundation of Rome.[6]

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 679 *sq.*; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 40. 6.

[2] Livy, xxx. 39. 8. As to the relation of the plebeian aediles to the games of Ceres compare Dio Cassius, xlvii. 40. 6.

[3] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 217 *sq.* The legend runs: "*Memmius aed. Cerialia preimus fecit*". Here *Cerialia* means "the games of Ceres", as in Livy, xxx. 39. 8, "*Cerialia ludos dictator et magister equitum ex senatus consulto fecerunt*".

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Matrem Matutam", p. 109 ed. Lindsay, "*In carmine Saliari Cerus manus intellegitur creator bonus*". Compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 26.

[5] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 1447, "*Sex. Caesio Sex. (f.) Propertiano flamini Ceriali Romae*".

[6] As to Ceres, both in her original Italian character and in her adaptation

The worship of Demeter under the name of Ceres was introduced into Rome in the early years of the Republic. In the year 496 B.C. it chanced that food was very scarce, the crops having failed and supplies being cut off by the enemy, for Rome was then at war with the Volscians. The Sibylline Books were consulted, and from them oracles were produced which advised the Romans to propitiate Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore, whose names were interpreted in Latin as Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Accordingly the dictator, Aulus Postumius, vowed to build temples to these deities and to sacrifice to them every year. The gods hearkened to his prayer and accepted his vows; for they made the fields and fruit-trees to bring forth abundantly and provisions to flow in like a flood.[1] No doubt the magnificent crop of corn was ascribed to the direct intervention of Demeter or Ceres, and the magnificent vintage to the direct intervention of Dionysus or Liber. A few years later, in 493 B.C., the consul, Spurius Cassius, dedicated the temples, or rather the joint temple, of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, which the dictator Aulus Postumius had vowed. It stood near the Circus Maximus, at the starting-point of the chariot-races.[2] This situation, vouched for by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is confirmed by a statement of Livy, who tells us that, in the stormy spring of 182 B.C., the door of the temple of the Moon on the Aventine was blown away by the wind and dashed against the back wall of the temple of Ceres in the valley below, while in the Circus Maximus itself statues, with the columns on which they stood, were hurled to the ground.[3]

The identification of the Italian Ceres with the Greek corn-goddess Demeter was unhesitatingly accepted by Ovid. In the sequel he narrates the adventures of Demeter and her daughter, Persephone (Proserpine), in Sicily and Greece, as if they applied to Ceres, who, however, if she had a husband, Cerus, is not known to have had a daughter to match the

---

to the Greek Demeter, see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 192 *sqq.*, 297 *sqq.*; *id.*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, iii. 2, coll. 1970 *sqq. s.v.* "Ceres".

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 17. 2-4; Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 94. 3.

[3] Livy, xl. 2. 1-2.

beautiful figure of Persephone. Such blendings of Greek with Italian myths and deities were almost inevitable when the two peoples intermingled with each other under the sway of Rome.

IV. 395. **The bread of the first mortals consisted of the green herbs which the earth yielded without solicitation.**—In the present work the poet has already sketched the life of primitive man, as he conceived it to have been before the invention of agriculture.[1] A much fuller picture of human existence in the prehistoric ages is painted by Lucretius,[2] and the lines and colours of the picture present many points of resemblance to the life which savages have led down to modern times. Ovid imagines primitive man to have been without agriculture and without metals, living on the natural products of the earth, on grass and leaves, without even the resource of acorns, which the poet believed to have been the discovery of a later age. Such a people are to-day, or were till yesterday, the Arunta and kindred tribes in the deserts of Central Australia, of whose life Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen have given an account which is a document of primary importance for the early history of our species. A staple food of these savages, who were wholly unacquainted with metals till they came into contact with Europeans, was the seed of a particular sort of grass. The women gather large quantities of the seeds and winnow them in the wind. But though they eat the seeds and perform magical ceremonies for their multiplication, the idea of planting the seeds in the ground, that they might spring up and bear a crop, has never entered their minds.[3] Evidently in her many wanderings Demeter or Ceres never reached the dead heart of Australia.

IV. 399. **it was well when they had found the acorn, and the sturdy oak afforded a splendid affluence.**—Ovid has already alluded to the common belief of the ancients that acorns were a staple food of mankind before the invention or discovery of agriculture.[4]

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 291-300. [2] Lucretius, v. 925 *sqq.*

[3] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta* (London, 1927), i. 17 *sq.* As to the magical ceremonies performed for the multiplication of the seed see B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 291-294. [4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 676, with the note.

IV. 405. **Copper was now held in esteem; iron ore still lay concealed.** — Thus Ovid knew that in the history of civilization the use of copper and bronze preceded the use of iron. Hesiod was aware of the same truth,[1] and Lucretius enunciated it still more explicitly.[2] Even in Homeric times the weapons both of offence and defence were regularly made of bronze; the poet constantly mentions armour made of, and wounds inflicted by, that metal.[3]

IV. 409. **You may give the goddess spelt and the compliment of spurting salt.**—Ovid has already alluded repeatedly to the simple old offerings of spelt and salt to Ceres and other deities.[4] Sacrificial cakes, or rather groats (*mola salsa*), were regularly composed of these materials.[5] The pious King Numa was reputed to be the first who instituted this form of sacrifice; he is said to have ordained that the spelt offered to the deities should always be toasted.[6] The first ears reaped at harvest were naturally sacrificed in gratitude to Ceres, as the goddess of the corn.[7] No one was allowed to taste of the new corn until this offering of first-fruits had been made by the priests.[8] Similarly no one might drink of the new wine until the first clusters had been plucked and the first draught of the wine had been offered by a priest to Liber, the equivalent of the Greek Bacchus. At Rome the priest who thus solemnly opened the vintage was the great Flamen Dialis himself.[9] Similar rules and customs are very common among people at lower levels of culture. The fruits of the earth seem to be regarded by them as instinct with a divine life, of which it would be sacrilegious and dangerous to partake until a portion of them has been offered to a higher power, who is supposed to have a prior right over them, whether that higher power is a deity,

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 150 *sq.* [2] Lucretius, v. 1286-1296.

[3] See, for example, Homer, *Il.* xi. 16, 43 *sq.*, 96, 153, 260, 351, xiii. 296, 305, 338, 371 *sq.*, 388, 397 *sq.*, 408, 439 *sq.*

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 127 *sq.*, 337 *sq.*, 671 *sq.*

[5] See note on *Fasti*, vi. 249 (Vol. IV. pp. 174 *sqq.*).

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 7.

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Sacrima", p. 423 ed. Lindsay, "*Sicut praemetium de spicis, quas primum messuissent, sacrificabant Cereri*"; compare *id.*, *s.v.* "Praemetium", pp. 266, 267 ed. Lindsay.

[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 8.

[9] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16; Festus, *s.v.* "Sacrima", p. 423 ed. Lindsay; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 8.

or the spirits of the dead, or simply a living chief. I have collected many instances of such rules and customs elsewhere,[1] but the examples could easily be multiplied.

IV. 411. **if there is no incense, kindle resinous torches.**—The mythical explanation of the use of torches in the rites of Ceres, or rather of Demeter, is given by Ovid a little later on.[2]

IV. 414. **let the ox plough ; sacrifice the lazy sow.**—In his poetical dissertation on the origin of sacrifice our author has already pleaded for the life of the ox, as an innocent creature, while he singles out the pig as a proper victim to be sacrificed to the corn-goddess because it grubs up with its snout the newly sown crop.[3]

IV. 417. **The subject requires that I should narrate the rape of the Virgin.** — In the following long passage (lines 417-620) Ovid tells the familiar tale, how Pluto carried off Proserpine, the daughter of the corn-goddess Ceres, or rather Demeter, to be his blooming bride, and how the sad mother —the *Mater Dolorosa*—sought the lost one through the world. The poet had already told the same story at even greater length elsewhere.[4] Here he enters a sort of apology for dwelling on so threadbare a theme ; and here, as there, he lays the scene of the rape at Henna (Enna) in Sicily. The story is the subject of the beautiful Homeric hymn to Demeter, the author of which lays the scene of the rape " in the Nysian plain " ;[5] but whether the Nysian plain existed anywhere on earth or only in fairyland, is a moot question.[6] Later writers agree with Ovid in placing the scene of the myth in Sicily, and particularly at Henna or Enna.[7] According to Hyginus and Lactantius Placidus, the girlish Proserpine was gathering flowers on Mount Etna when she was snatched away by Pluto.[8] On the other hand, Pausanias reports local

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 48 *sqq.*, 109 *sqq.* For a good exposition of the theory and practice in the Thonga tribe of South-east Africa see H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* [2] (London, 1927), i. 394 *sqq.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 491 *sqq.*

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 347 *sqq.*

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 385 *sqq.*

[5] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 16 *sqq.*

[6] See *The Homeric Hymns*, edited by T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, p. 4 (on *Hymn* I. 8).

[7] Diodorus Siculus, v. 3-5 ; Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48 *sq.* ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146 ; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 55 *sqq.* ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 347.

[8] Hyginus, *Fab.* 146 ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 347.

traditions that it was near Eleusis in Attica or near Lerna in Argolis that the grim Lord of the Dead plunged with his bride into the nether world.[1] Proserpine was the young Corn-goddess, as her mother Ceres, or rather Demeter, was the old Corn-goddess, and the story of her descent with Pluto into the infernal regions is a transparent myth of the sowing of the seed in the ground, just as the story of her gladsome return, after some months, to the upper world reflects in the magic mirror of fable the sprouting of the corn in spring. It was natural, therefore, to lay the scene of the myth in a great corn-growing country like Sicily, which was one of the principal granaries of the ancient world; indeed, it was called the treasury of Rome.[2] For the same reason corn was fabled to have first sprung up in Sicily;[3] according to the Sicilian historian Diodorus, wheat still grew wild in the island in his lifetime.[4]

The natural situation of Enna has been described by Cicero and Diodorus Siculus,[5] and their descriptions agree so closely that Diodorus would seem to have copied from Cicero, although, as a native of Sicily, he might be expected to know and describe the place from personal observation. Cicero certainly wrote as an eyewitness, for in his great impeachment of Verres, the governor and oppressor of Sicily, he tells how he had visited Enna and found the whole city plunged in grief for the loss of the image of Ceres, which the sacrilegious governor had torn from her temple and carried off. The scene, he says, rose up before his eyes—the temple, the place, the time, the priests in their sacred habiliments, the great multitude of citizens who broke out into sobs and tears when he addressed them on the outrage that had been perpetrated on their holy city; for Enna, he adds, was not so much a city as a shrine of Ceres, and the citizens were her priests and acolytes.[6] From its central position in the heart of the island Enna was called the navel of Sicily.[7] The city occupied a commanding

[1] Pausanias, i. 38. 5, ii. 36. 7.
[2] Strabo, vi. 2. 7, p. 373.
[3] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48; Diodorus Siculus, v. 2. 4.
[4] Diodorus Siculus, v. 2. 4.
[5] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48; Diodorus Siculus, v. 3. 2 *sq.*
[6] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 49.
[7] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48; Diodorus Siculus, v. 3. 2.

situation on a tableland more than three thousand feet high and encircled by precipices, so that, under the conditions of ancient warfare, the place, defended by a strong garrison, was almost impregnable.[1] The tableland was watered by perennial springs, and all around were lakes and groves and meadows, so full of violets and other flowers in bloom throughout the year that their overpowering fragrance was said to balk hounds in following up the scent. Not far off opened a spacious cavern, facing north, from the darksome mouth of which Pluto rushed in his car to win his reluctant bride.[2] The lake in the woods, on whose banks Proserpine was culling posies at the fatal moment, went by the name of Pergus.[3]

IV. 420. **The Trinacrian land.**—Ovid here explains correctly why Sicily was called Trinacris or Trinacria.[4] He has previously spoken of the Trinacrian, that is, the Sicilian Sea.[4]

IV. 421. **It is the favourite home of Ceres.**—The whole island of Sicily was deemed sacred to Ceres, or rather Demeter.[5]

IV. 423. **Cool Arethusa had invited the mothers of the gods.**—Arethusa was the nymph of the fountain in the island of Ortygia, off Syracuse. It is said that originally she was a Greek nymph, and that, being loved and wooed by the river Alpheus, she fled from him and, crossing the sea to the island of Ortygia, was there turned into a spring of water. But the amorous river still pursued the coy and flying fair, and flowing through the sea, united his water with hers in the island.[6] Various supposed proofs of the connexion of the river Alpheus with the fountain Arethusa were alleged in antiquity. Thus it was said that a cup thrown into the river had reappeared in the fountain; and that every fourth summer, while the Olympic festival was being held at Olympia, the water of the spring Arethusa grew turbid with

[1] Livy, xxiv. 37. 2; Strabo, vi. 2. 6, p. 272; *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, ii. (1925) p. 831, *s.v.* "Castrogiovanni".

[2] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48; Diodorus Siculus, v. 3. 2 *sq.*

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 385 *sqq.*; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 112 *sqq.*

[4] *Fasti*, iv. 287, with the note.

[5] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48.

[6] Pausanias, v. 7. 2 *sq.*, vii. 23. 2, viii. 54. 3; Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 694-696; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 572-641; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 271, iv. 239; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 694; Solinus, v. 16.

the offal of the victims thrown into the Alpheus and with the dung of the race-horses that bathed in the river.[1] Acting on this belief, the people of Aegium in Achaia used to throw cakes into the sea to be wafted by the waves to Syracuse.[2] When Stilicho defeated Alaric near Elis in A.D. 397, it is said that the Alpheus ran red with blood, dyeing the blue Sicilian sea crimson, and welling up in the spring Arethusa announced by its ensanguined water the victory over the Goths.[3] The prosaic Strabo argued gravely against the possibility of any such connexion between the Arcadian river and the Sicilian spring.[4] Milton alludes to the poetic tale in *Arcades*:

> "*Divine Alpheus, who, by secret sluice,*
> *Stole under seas to meet his Arethuse*".

IV. 423. **the yellow-haired goddess had also come to the sacred banquet.**— The yellow-haired goddess is the corn-goddess Ceres, whose yellow hair was no other than the golden ears of ripe corn in the harvest-field. So the Greeks also spoke of yellow Demeter,[5] and the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter describes the goddess with her yellow tresses floating down on her shoulders.[6] Ovid himself speaks elsewhere of Ceres as "the gentle yellow-haired mother of the corn".[7] And as the yellow Demeter was the ripe corn, so the green Demeter was the unripe corn.[8]

IV. 431. **"Come hither, comrades," she said, "and with me bring home lapfuls of flowers."**—In the following description of Proserpine and her playmates gathering flowers in the meadows, Ovid doubtless had in mind the similar picture in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, where, however, it is a

[1] Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 140 (155); Strabo, vi. 2. 4, p. 270; Seneca, *Quaest. Natur.* iii. 26. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 225; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 694.

[2] Pausanias, vii. 24. 3.

[3] Claudian, *In Rufinum*, ii. Praef. 9-12.

[4] Strabo, vi. 2. 4, pp. 270 *sq.*

[5] Homer, *Il.* v. 500; *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 302.

[6] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 279.

[7] Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 118, "*Et te flava comas frugum mitissima mater*".

[8] Pausanias, i. 22. 3; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28; Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Colon.* 1600; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 1024 (vol. iii. p. 173); Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 714 (p. 615); J. de Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, Fasciculus i. (Leipzig, 1896) p. 49; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 312 *sq.*

wondrous narcissus, created by Earth on purpose to beguile her, that takes the fancy of Proserpine, and it is in reaching out to pluck it that Pluto pounces upon her.[1] In the parallel passage of the *Metamorphoses* the goddess was culling violets or white lilies at the fatal moment.[2] Vying with his predecessors, Claudian revels in his description of the woodland glade and the lush meadows, spangled with blooms of all the hues of the rainbow, where the bevy of nymphs and goddesses roamed like bees in beds of thyme.[3] Similarly, Moschus has described how Europa with her playmates was gathering flowers in a meadow by the sea, joying in the sight of the roses and the sound of the waves on the shore, when Zeus came in the form of a bull and carried her off.[4]

IV. 439. **others lingered over amaranth.**—In Greek the name amaranth (*amarantos*) means the unfading flower. In obedience to an admonition of the oracle of Dodona, the Thessalians used to send a sacred embassy every year to Troy to sacrifice two bulls, one black and one white, to Achilles in his double character of a dead man and a god. The vessel, with the bulls, wood from Mount Pelion, fire from Thessaly, and water from the river Spercheus, hoisted black sails when it put to sea, and the funeral wreaths were twined of amaranth, lest, the wind proving contrary, the wreaths should be faded and withered before the ships put in to Troy.[5] Milton has described how the angels in heaven, in solemn adoration, cast on the ground " their crowns inwove with amarant and gold, immortal amarant ", till the bright pavement,

> ". . . *that like a sea of jasper shone,*
> *Impurpl'd with celestial roses smil'd* ".[6]

It is said that " the Greek plant was the Gold-flower, one of the ' Everlastings ' or ' Immortelles '. The Roman plant was something quite different . . . most probably the ' Love lies bleeding ' of our gardens, of Asiatic origin." [7] Pliny says

[1] *Homeric Hymns,* II. *To Demeter,* 1-18.
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 391 *sqq.*
[3] Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae,* ii. 71-149.
[4] Moschus, ii. 28 *sqq.*
[5] Philostratus, *Heroica,* 25 (vol. ii. p. 208 ed. Kayser).
[6] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* iii. 350 *sqq.*
[7] Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, in *Companion to Latin Studies,* edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3], p. 71.

that amaranth was a purple spike rather than a flower, that it bloomed in August and lasted into autumn, and that it was used to make winter chaplets.[1] Tibullus compares the blush on a bride's cheek to lilies interwoven by girls with amaranth.[2]

IV. 445. **Her father's brother saw her, and . . . swiftly carried her off.**—The father's brother of Proserpine was Pluto, who was the brother of her father Jupiter (Zeus); for Proserpine was commonly believed to be the daughter of Jupiter (Zeus) and Demeter,[3] though, according to another account, her mother was Styx.[4] Elsewhere, as here, Ovid speaks of Pluto as Proserpine's paternal uncle.[5]

IV. 458. **Thracian Maenads rush with streaming hair.**—Thrace was above all lands associated with the worship of Bacchus and with the wild ravings and wanderings of the frenzied women, the Bacchanals or Maenads, who followed in his train.[6] Elsewhere Ovid has described how these furies tore the Thracian bard Orpheus to pieces.[7]

IV. 459. **As a cow, whose calf has been torn from her udder, bellows and seeks her offspring through every grove.**—Ovid may have had in his mind the more detailed picture which Lucretius draws of the mother-cow, whose calf has been sacrificed at the altar, roaming the woodland pastures and willow-fringed banks of the rivers, following up the hoof-prints of her lost offspring, filling the air with mournful lowings, and refusing to be comforted by the sight of green pastures and still waters.[8]

IV. 465. **Perhaps that day had been the last of her wanderings if pigs had not foiled the trail she found.**—This may have been one of the reasons alleged to explain why pigs were sacrificed to Ceres or Demeter.[9] By confusing the footprints of her daughter at the outset, they prevented the goddess from overtaking and rescuing the ravished maiden,

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 47.
[2] Tibullus, iii. 4. 31-34.
[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 912 *sq.*; Pausanias, viii. 37. 9; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 514-524; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30 ed. Bunte.
[4] Apollodorus, i. 3. 1.
[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 379.
[6] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 737 *sqq.* with the note on 739.
[7] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 1 *sqq.*
[8] Lucretius, ii. 352-366.
[9] See Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 349 *sqq.*, with the note.

and so left the bereaved mother to roam disconsolate over the world.[1]

IV. 467. **Already in her course she had passed Leontini, and the river Amenanus, and the grassy banks of Acis.**—In the following passage (lines 467-496) Ovid describes the wanderings of Ceres through Sicily in search of her lost daughter, Proserpine. Leontini was an inland city of Sicily, between Syracuse and Catana. The country around it was one of the principal wheat-growing regions of Sicily; it exported much corn to Rome;[2] indeed, wheat was said to grow there wild.[3] No wonder that the poet made the corn-goddess pass through these fruitful fields on her peregrinations.

The river Amenanus flowed through Catana, but its water used to fail for years together and then to flow again.[4] The intermittence may be due to volcanic action, for Etna is near. The river, now called the Giudicelli, is said to exhibit the same irregularity as of old in its flow.[5] On coins of Catana the figure of a bull with a bearded human head may represent the river-god Amenanus;[6] for rivers were often represented in the form of bulls. Aelian tells us that the images of river-gods were sometimes fashioned in the likeness of bulls, and sometimes in the likeness of men. Thus the Stymphalians in Arcadia represented the Erasinus and the Metope in the form of bulls; the Lacedaemonians did the same for the river Eurotas, the Sicyonians and the Phliasians for the river Asopus, and the Argives for the river Cephisus. On the other hand, the people of Psophis in Arcadia portrayed the river Erymanthus in the likeness of a man, and so did the people of Heraea in Arcadia with the river Alpheus.[7]

Acis was said to have been originally a son of Faunus and the nymph Symaethis. He won the love of the sea-nymph Galatea, but his jealous rival, the brutal Cyclops Polyphemus, crushed him under a rock. However, Galatea turned into water the blood that flowed from beneath the rock, and she

[1] See further note on *Fasti*, iv. 503 below, pp. 289 *sq.*
[2] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 3. cap. 18; *id.*, *Philipp.* viii. 26.
[3] Diodorus Siculus, v. 2. 4.
[4] Strabo, v. 3. 13, p. 240; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 289 *sq.*
[5] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 121.
[6] Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1887), p. 114.
[7] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 33.

transformed the dead Acis into a river-god. The stream flows near Etna ;[1] its water is exceedingly cold.[2] The stream still bears its ancient name in a slightly changed form, Fiume di Jaci. It rises under a rock of lava, and has a very short course to the sea, passing by the modern town of Aci Reale.[3]

IV. 469. **She had passed Cyane, and the springs of gently flowing Anapus.**—The Anapus is a river of Sicily which flows into the great harbour of Syracuse. Its banks for some distance from the mouth are bordered by marshes, which rendered them unhealthy, breeding pestilence among the armies, whether Greek or Carthaginian, which laid siege to Syracuse in antiquity. But above the marshes the scenery of the valley is very beautiful, and the water of the river very deep and clear.[4] On their disastrous retreat from Syracuse the Athenians forced the passage of the river, in face of the opposition of the enemy.[5] About three-quarters of a mile from its mouth the river is joined from the south by the water of the Cyane or the Blue Spring, so called from the deep blue colour of its crystalline water. Just at the meeting of the waters rises the hill on which stood the Olympieum or sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, which is often mentioned by Thucydides in his account of the Athenian siege of Syracuse.[6] The source of the Cyane is at the foot of the limestone hills about two miles west of the great harbour of Syracuse. It is a beautiful circular basin, in which the pellucid blue water bubbles up with a strong spring, to flow with a deep and tranquil current to join the Anapus.[7] In Greek mythology the clear river and the blue spring were personified in human form as husband and wife, a river-god and a water-nymph.[8] The pool of Cyane was, according to one account, the place

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 750-897 ; Silius Italicus, xiv. 221-226 ; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, iii. 332.

[2] Solinus, v. 17.

[3] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 21.

[4] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 130.

[5] Thucydides, vii. 78. 3.

[6] Thucydides, vi. 64. 1, vi. 65. 3, vi. 70. 4, vi. 75. 1, vii. 4. 6, vii. 37. 2 and 3, vii. 42. 6.

[7] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 721 *sq.*

[8] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 33 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 411-418.

where Pluto vanished with Proserpine into the nether world. It is said that when the ravisher with his unwilling bride in the car approached the pool, the nymph rose from the water, and stretching out her arms, attempted to bar the progress of the galloping steeds; but the angry god, not to be baffled by her feeble opposition, clove the bottom of the pool with a thrust of his sceptre, and plunged, horses, chariot, bride and all, down into the depths.[1] So when the sad Ceres came to the pool in search of her lost daughter, she found only her girdle floating on the surface of the blue water.[2] In memory of these tragic events the Syracusans celebrated a great festival every year beside the pool. The finest of the bulls was picked out and sacrificed by being drowned in the water, while private persons sacrificed less valuable victims. The festival was said to have been instituted by Hercules at the time when he drove the kine of Geryon all over the land of Sicily.[3]

IV. 470. **the Gelas with its whirlpools not to be approached.** —The Gelas is the river which flowed past and gave its name to the important Greek city of Gela, on the southern coast of Sicily.[4] It is now called Fiume di Terranova, and still retains the same character of a violent and impetuous torrent which Ovid ascribes to it; but in the summer, like many rivers in the south of Europe, it has little water in its bed.[5] The river is represented by the head of a rushing bull, with a bearded human face, on most of the coins of Gela.[6]

IV. 471. **She had left behind Ortygia and Megara and the Pantagias.**—Ceres is now supposed to be moving northward from the pool of Cyane and making for Etna, there to light her torch at the volcanic fire. So she passes the island of Ortygia, off Syracuse, and the city of Megara, and comes to the river Pantagias. Virgil represents Aeneas sailing before a north wind in the opposite direction, and therefore southward, past "the mouth of the Pantagias,

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 409-424; compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 4. 2.
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 465-470.
[3] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 23. 4, v. 4. 2.
[4] Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Γέλα; Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 702; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 58.
[5] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 985.
[6] Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1887), p. 121.

with its living rock, and the bay of Megara, and low-lying Thapsus ".[1] According to Silius Italicus, the river Pantagias was easily fordable, for it had little water in its bed.[2] The stream is now called the Porcari ; it flows through a deep ravine between calcareous rocks at its mouth, in accordance with Virgil's description. When it is swollen by winter rains, the stream becomes a raging torrent,[3] rolling along rocks in its headlong course, as noted by Claudian.[4] Thucydides calls the river the Pantacyas.[5]

IV. 472. **the place where the sea receives the water of the Symaethus.**— The Symaethus, now the Simeto, is a considerable river of eastern Sicily which flows into the sea in the territory of ancient Catana.[6] Silius Italicus speaks of " the yellow shallows of swift Symaethus ".[7]

IV. 473. **and the caves of the Cyclopes, burnt by the forges set up in them.**—Ovid was clearly thinking of Virgil's description of " the Aetnaean caves worn away by the forges of the Cyclopes ", where these smiths plied their thunderous hammers in the house of Vulcan.[8] But whereas Virgil places their workshop in one of the Liparaean or Aeolian islands, Ovid clearly implies that the forges were on Mount Etna ; for, following a geographical order from south to north, he mentions the caves of the Cyclopes between the river Symaethus and " the place that takes its name from a curved sickle ", by which he probably meant Messana. Similarly Pliny, immediately after describing Etna, with the glow of its nocturnal fire, its far-heard roar, and its clouds of hot ashes spreading for miles, mentions " the three cliffs of the Cyclopes, the harbour of Ulysses, the colony of Catina (Catana), and the river Symaethus ".[9] Euripides also makes Mount Etna the home of the Cyclopes, whom Ulysses visited ;[10] and though he does not describe

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 686-689.
[2] Silius Italicus, xiv. 230 *sq.*
[3] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 545.
[4] Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 57 *sq.*
[5] Thucydides, vi. 4. 1.
[6] Strabo, vi. 2. 4, p. 272 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 89.
[7] Silius Italicus, xiv. 231.
[8] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 416-422. Here Virgil's phrase " *Cyclopum exesa caminis | antra* " is obviously echoed by Ovid's " *antraque Cyclopum positis exusta caminis* ".
[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 89.
[10] Euripides, *Cyclops*, 20-22, 298.

the Cyclopes as the smiths of Vulcan (Hephaestus), he speaks of the fire-god as the lord of Etna.[1] The ancients, indeed, hesitated between Mount Etna and the Liparaean Islands as the home of Vulcan (Hephaestus) and his attendant smiths, the Cyclopes. The division of opinion was natural, since both regions were in antiquity, as they have remained in modern times, the scene of active volcanic phenomena. According to Thucydides, the natives of the Liparaean Islands believed that Hephaestus wrought as a smith in the Holy Isle (Hiera), "because the island is seen to send up much fire by night and smoke by day".[2] Callimachus says that in Lipara the Cyclopes stood around the molten metal on the anvils of Hephaestus.[3] In antiquity the two most active volcanoes of the group seem to have been Strongyle (the modern Stromboli) and the Holy Isle (the modern Volcano);[4] and of these two the latter was deemed specially sacred to Hephaestus,[5] from which we may infer that it was then in more constant eruption than its neighbours; to this day it retains the name of the fire-god Vulcan, though it has long been comparatively quiescent. Strabo says that the Holy Isle was all aglow, and that from its three craters it vomited flames and masses of molten matter which had choked up a great part of the strait.[6] On one occasion, after a great submarine eruption which took place off the Holy Isle, the Roman Senate sent representatives to offer sacrifices both to the marine and to the subterranean deities in the new islet that had appeared, as well as in the other islands of the group.[7] In the islands there were votive offerings dedicated by pious people both to Vulcan (Hephaestus) and to Aeolus, the king of the Winds, who also had his home in the archipelago. Some of these offerings were carried off by the unscrupulous Agathocles, but the ships with them on board were wrecked in a storm,

[1] Euripides, *Cyclops*, 699.

[2] Thucydides, iii. 88. 3. Compare Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 41, iv. 761.

[3] Callimachus, *Hymns*, III. *To Artemis*, 46-49.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, v. 7. 3.

[5] Strabo, vi. 2. 10, p. 275; Diodorus Siculus, v. 7. 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 93, "*Antea Therasia appellata, nunc Hiera, quia sacra Volcano est colle in ea nocturnas evomente flammas*".

[6] Strabo, vi. 2. 10, p. 275.

[7] Strabo, vi. 2. 11, p. 277.

which was naturally interpreted as an act of vengeance inflicted on the impious robber by one of the two deities whom he had robbed.[1] Juvenal speaks of Vulcan wiping his grimy arms in the Liparaean forge.[2]

The ancients observed a certain alternation between the eruptions of Etna and of the Liparaean Islands, from which they inferred the existence of submarine and subterranean tunnels with openings to the craters in both regions.[3] Virgil would seem to have had this notion in his mind when he applied the epithet Aetnaean to the caves of the Cyclopes in the Liparaean Islands.[4]

IV. 474. **the place that takes its name from a bent sickle.**— This place may be Messana, a city situated near the north-eastern extremity of Sicily, on the shore of the straits which divide the island from Italy; for the ancient name of the city was Zancle, a name derived from *zanklon*, a word which, in the language of the aboriginal Sicilian people, signified "sickle" with reference to the curve of the coast.[5] Or Ovid may be referring to Drepanum, a cape and harbour at the north-western extremity of Sicily; for in Greek the name Drepanum (*drepanon*) means "sickle". The place was said to be so called because Saturn (Cronus) had there thrown away the sickle with which he had castrated his heavenly father the Sky (Uranus);[6] or, according to a slightly different version, because Zeus there hid the sickle with which he had performed a similar operation on his father Cronus (Saturn).[7] Others, however, thought that the place was so called because, in the search for her daughter, Ceres or Demeter there lost the sickle which she had received from Hephaestus (Vulcan) to reap the corn.[8] The latter explanation would give more point to Ovid's mention of the place in the wanderings of Ceres. But Drepanum was not the only place which bore the name, and of which a similar legend was told. The most northerly cape of

[1] Diodorus Siculus, xx. 101. 1-3.
[2] Juvenal, xiii. 44 *sq.*
[3] Diodorus Siculus, v. 7. 4.
[4] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 418 *sq.* As to the Liparaean or Aeolian Islands and their volcanic phenomena see Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 51-53; H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, i. 250 *sq.*
[5] Thucydides, vi. 4. 5.
[6] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 707.
[7] Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 869.
[8] Servius, on Virgil, iii. 707; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 869.

Peloponnese bore in antiquity the name of Drepanum and still bears the name of Dhrapano; and the name was explained by a legend that there Cronus (Saturn) threw into the sea the sickle with which he had mutilated his father Sky (Uranus).[1] The legend seems to be, as Andrew Lang pointed out long ago, one of a widespread class of myths invented to explain the separation of Earth and Sky, which are often supposed to have been originally situated inconveniently close together.[2] The supposed original contiguity of Earth and Sky often appears in African myths.[3]

IV. 475. **And Himera, and Didyme, and Acragas and Tauromenum.** — Himera was a city on the north coast of Sicily. It was famous for the signal defeat which Gelo of Syracuse there inflicted on a great Carthaginian army under Hamilcar in 480 B.C., on the very day when the Persians were defeated by the Greeks at Salamis.[4] Didyme was one of the Aeolian or Liparaean Islands, to the north of Sicily.[5] It took its name, which means Twin or Double, from its shape, as Strabo observes; for it is formed of two conical volcanic mountains rising to a height of more than three thousand feet above the sea. The modern name of the island is Salina.[6] Acragas or Agrigentum (the modern Girgenti) was a great and powerful Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily. Its ruined temples are among the finest monuments of Grecian antiquity. Tauromenum (the modern Taormina) was a Greek city on the east coast of Sicily, about midway between Messana and Catana. The place is famous in modern times for the surpassing beauty of its natural situation and for its well-preserved ancient theatre.[7] Thus

[1] Pausanias, vii. 23. 4, with my note (vol. iv. p. 159).

[2] Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 45 *sqq.*

[3] See, for example, J. Spieth, *Die Ewe Stämme, Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo* (Berlin, 1906), p. 423; D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia* (Göttingen und Leipzig, 1921), p. 533; J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, "Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Canda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvii. No. CVI. (January, 1928) p. 143.

[4] Herodotus, vii. 165-167; Diodorus Siculus, xi. 20-22.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, v. 7. 1; Strabo, vi. 2. 11, p. 276.

[6] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 51.

[7] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 1113-1115.

into the compass of a single line Ovid has contrived to compress a circuit of the whole island of Sicily, naming places on the northern, southern, and eastern coasts which were supposed to be visited by Ceres in her wanderings.

IV. 476. **the Melas, where are the rich pastures of the sacred kine.**—This river, with the sacred kine that pastured on its green banks, appears to be otherwise unknown.

IV. 477. **Next she came to Camerina, and Thapsus, and the Tempe of Helorus.**—Camerina and Thapsus were cities on the southern and eastern coasts of Sicily respectively. The Helorus is a river of south-eastern Sicily, flowing into the sea to the north of Cape Pachynum. Virgil makes Aeneas sail past its mouth on his southward voyage before sighting the rocky headland of Pachynum, the Land's End of Sicily in the direction of Africa. The poet implies that the waters of the river at its mouth were stagnant and the soil heavy.[1] This is still true of the lower course of the river, which is apt to overflow its banks, but in its upper valley it is a mountain stream, flowing over a rugged and rocky bed.[2] It is probably to this upper valley of the river that Ovid applied the name of Tempe, which in the mouth of a Roman poet always implied a picturesque gorge, with reference to the far-famed Tempe in Thessaly. In the river there were tame fish and eels which ate out of people's hands.[3]

IV. 478. **where Eryx lies for ever open to the western breeze.**—Mount Eryx, on the northern coast of Sicily, near the western extremity of the island, was famous for its sanctuary of Aphrodite. The temple of Venus in Rome at the Colline Gate was a daughter foundation of the Sicilian sanctuary. That sanctuary was formerly thronged with sacred female slaves, whom Sicilians and foreigners had dedicated to the worship of the goddess; but in the days of Strabo, and therefore of his contemporary Ovid, the number of these holy women had sadly fallen off.[4] Their place was to a certain extent supplied by a garrison of two hundred Roman soldiers charged with the duty of guarding the

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 698 *sq.*

[2] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 1039.

[3] Athenaeus, viii. 3. p. 330 b; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἕλωρος.

[4] Strabo, vi. 2. 5, p. 272.

sanctuary; and from the cities of Sicily gold still flowed into the temple treasure,[1] of which the votive offerings in silver had dazzled the eyes of Athenian envoys on the eve of the Sicilian expedition.[2]

IV. 479. **Already had she traversed Pelorias, and Lilybaeum, and Pachynum, the three horns of her land.** This is equivalent to saying that Ceres had made a complete circuit of Sicily; for, as the poet indicates, Pelorum, Lilybaeum, and Pachynum were the three capes in which the triangular island of Sicily terminated on the north-east, the north-west, and the south-east. In speaking of the cape at the north-eastern extremity of the island Ovid uses the Greek form of the name, which was Pelorias[3] or Peloris,[4] though the Romans also employed the forms Pelorum[5] and Pelorus.[6] The Greek form Pelorias was also adopted by Solinus and Mela.[7]

IV. 482. **as when the bird doth mourn her Itys lost.**—Procne, wife of the Thracian king Tereus, is said to have been transformed into a nightingale or a swallow, and in that form to have mourned the death of her son Itys, whom she had murdered in order to avenge her husband's infidelity.[8]

IV. 491. **Lofty Etna lies over the mouth of huge Typhoeus.**—The theory which explained the volcanic fires of Etna by the myth of a fire-breathing giant Typhoeus buried under the mountain has already been mentioned by Ovid.[9]

IV. 493. **There the goddess kindled two pine-trees to serve her as a light; hence to this day a torch is given out at the rites of Ceres.**—That Ceres, in searching for her lost daughter, lit her torches at the flames of Etna is reported also by Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, and Lactantius,[10] as well as by Ovid himself elsewhere.[11] The theme is elaborated at length by Claudian, who tells us that in order to procure torches by which to illumine her wanderings by night Ceres

[1] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 83. 7.
[2] Thucydides, vi. 46. 3.
[3] Strabo, vi. 2. 1, pp. 265, 266, 267.
[4] Thucydides, iv. 25. 3.
[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 73, 87, 88.
[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 727, compare v. 350, xv. 706.
[7] Solinus, v. 2; Mela, ii. 116.
[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 629, with the note.
[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 573, with the note.
[10] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii. lib. 4. cap. 48; Diodorus Siculus, v. 4. 3; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 21.
[11] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 441-443.

repaired to a sacred grove on the slopes of Mount Etna, fast by the river Acis. There, after hesitating whether to fell pines or cedars for her purpose, she finally chose two tall cypresses that rose side by side, like sisters, from the greensward and with their stately heads o'ertopped the grove. Tucking up her skirts, the stalwart goddess plied her axe against their trunks, and brought them crashing to the ground, a leafy ruin, to the grief of Fauns and Dryads. These fallen giants she then snatched up, and, brandishing them aloft, ran, with streaming hair, over the burning marl, till she came to where the infernal river Phlegethon rolled his burning waves; at these lurid flames she kindled the cypresses, and in the gloom of night their flickering glare lit up the shores of Italy and Africa far off.[1]

Torches seem to have played an important part in the rites of Ceres, or rather of her Greek prototype Demeter, and her daughter Persephone (Proserpine); for in art the two goddesses and their attendants are often represented with torches in their hands;[2] hence they were called the Fire-bearing goddesses,[3] and in the mysteries of Eleusis, celebrated in their honour, the Torchbearer held an office which, in point of dignity, was second only to that of the Hierophant himself.[4] To have numbered several Torchbearers among her ancestors was counted to a woman for one of the proudest titles of Athenian nobility.[5] The mysteries of Eleusis were celebrated by torchlight,[6] and at a sanctuary of Demeter in Argos burning torches were thrown into a pit in honour of Proserpine.[7] In a sanctuary of

[1] Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, iii. 330-448.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 25. 7, viii. 37. 3, x. 35. 10; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, vol. i. pp. 36 *sqq.*, vol. ii. Plates viii., ix., x.; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iii. (Oxford, 1907) Plates xiii, xv*a*, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi*a*, xxv, xxvii*b*.

[3] G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), No. 821 (p. 335).

[4] J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 86 *sq.*; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 260 *sq.*; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, ii. 1, pp. 2 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Daduchus".

[5] Pausanias, i. 37. 1.

[6] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 12, p. 12 ed. Potter; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 21; Statius, *Silv.* iv. 8. 50 *sq.*

[7] Pausanias, ii. 22. 3.

Demeter and Proserpine at Mantinea a perpetual fire was kept burning.[1]

The story of Demeter's search by torchlight for Proserpine, and the use of torches in her mysteries, may perhaps have originated in a custom of carrying fire about the fields as a charm to secure sunshine, or, at all events, fertility, for the corn, of which Demeter and her daughters were the divine personifications. Such customs have been, and probably still are, widely practised in modern Europe at certain seasons of the year, particularly on the first Sunday in Lent, but sometimes at Midsummer and Hallowe'en. In France the custom of carrying torches about the fields and orchards on the first Sunday in Lent has earned for that day the Sunday of the Torches (*Brandons*).[2]

IV. 497. **she yoked the bitted serpents to her car and roamed, unwetted, o'er the ocean waves.**—The dragon-borne car of Ceres, or rather Demeter, is described in very picturesque language by Claudian, who tells how, when the car skimmed the cornfields, the ears grew yellow in its track.[3] Demeter is said to have given the car to Triptolemus that he might fly in it over the earth, dispensing the gift of corn to all mankind.[4] On the monuments, especially in vase-paintings, Triptolemus is often seen riding in his dragon-car.[5]

IV. 499. **She shunned the Syrtes, and Zanclaean Charybdis, and you, ye Nisaean hounds, monsters of shipwreck.**—Ceres, or rather Demeter, is now supposed to be flying in her dragon-car from Sicily to Greece ; and the poet means that

[1] Pausanias, viii. 9. 2.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 106 *sqq.* (the Lenten fires), 203 (Midsummer fires in Ireland), 233 *sq.* (Hallowe'en fires in Scotland). As to the Hallowe'en custom see further Miss Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), p. 229.

[3] Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, i. 181-190.

[4] Apollodorus, i. 5. 2 ; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28, pp. 53 *sq.* ed. C. Lang ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 642 *sqq.* ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147 ; *id., Astronom.* ii. 14, pp. 49 *sq.* ed. Bunte ; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163 ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382.

[5] Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. Plate viii. figs. 112, 113*a*, 113*b*, 113*c*, 113*d*, 113*e*, 114 ; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. 530 *sqq.* ; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1855 *sqq.* ; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, v. 471 *sqq., s.v.* " Triptolemus ", figs. 7059, 7060, 7061, 7063, 7065 ; E. Fehrle, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, v. 1137-1138, *s.v.* " Triptolemos " ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 211 *sqq.*

she steered a middle course between Africa (represented by the Syrtes) on the south and Italy (represented by Charybdis and Scylla) on the north. The Syrtes are two broad and deep gulfs on the northern coast of Africa, the navigation of which was deemed very perilous in antiquity on account of the surf and shoals and shifting tides.[1] The Lesser Syrtis, to the west, is in Tunis ; the Greater Syrtis, to the east, is in Tripoli.

Ovid applies the epithet Zanclaean to Charybdis because the whirlpool is situated on the Sicilian side of the straits, near Messana, of which the ancient name was Zancle.[2] By the " Nisaean hounds " Ovid means the sea-monster Scylla, who was supposed to haunt the Italian side of the Sicilian straits, opposite to Charybdis. Her belly was girt about with ravening dogs, according to Ovid ; [3] our author seems to have borrowed the dogs from Virgil, who speaks of Scylla's cave " and rocks resounding with her sea-blue hounds ".[4] The dogs are not in Homer, who, in describing Scylla, only says that she had twelve feet and six dreadful heads on six long necks, and that she yelped like a new-born puppy,[5] which may have suggested to later writers the fable of her dogs.

But why does Ovid call Scylla's dogs Nisaean ? It is because here and elsewhere [6] he has confounded the sea-monster Scylla with Scylla, the wicked daughter of Nisus, king of Megara, who, for love of Minos, did her father to death by severing the purple or golden hair on which his life depended.[7] The same confusion of the two Scyllas was made, before Ovid, by the two learned poets Virgil and Propertius.[8] The tragic story of Scylla, daughter of Nisus,

[1] Strabo, xvii. 3. 20, pp. 835, 836 ; Polybius, i. 39. 3-5 ; Mela, i. 35 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 26 ; Solinus, xxvii. 3-4 ; Horace, *Odes*, i. 22. 5, ii. 6. 3 *sq.*, *Epod.* ix. 31.

[2] See note on line 474, above, p. 278.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 64 *sq.*, xiii. 730-732, xiv. 59-67.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 431 *sq.* ; compare *id.*, *Ecl.* vi. 74-77.

[5] Homer, *Od.* xii. 85 *sqq.*

[6] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 331 *sq.*, " *Filia purpureos Niso furata capillos | pube premit rabidos inguinibusque canes* ".

[7] Apollodorus, iii. 15. 8 ; Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 612 *sqq.* ; Pausanias, i. 19. 4 ; Propertius, iv. (iii.) 19, 21-24 ; Virgil, *Georg.* i. 404-409 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 6-151 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 198.

[8] Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 74-77 ; Propertius, v. (iv.) 4. 39 *sq.*

is the theme of the poem *Ciris*, which is ascribed to Virgil and takes its name from the bird (*ciris*) into which, after the great betrayal, the faithless daughter is said to have been changed. The author of the *Ciris* correctly distinguishes between the two Scyllas, and points out that Homer is not responsible for the confusion.[1] The same distinction is made by Servius, who labours, with all the ingenuity of a loyal commentator, to relieve Virgil from the imputation of having erred on this point of mythology.[2] Curiously enough, both Virgil and Ovid remembered quite well, in some passages of their works, that Scylla, daughter of Nisus, had really been turned into a bird,[3] though in other passages they falsely imagined that she had suffered a sea-change into a monster.

IV. 503. **There for the first time she sat her down most sorrowful on a cold stone : that stone even now the Cecropids call the Sorrowful.**—By the Cecropids the poet means the Athenians, who traced their descent from Cecrops, the ancient king of Athens. Ovid has already used this appellation in the present work.[4]

Our author has now conducted Ceres, or rather Demeter, at last to Eleusis, where she had her most famous sanctuary, and where her holiest rites, the Eleusinian mysteries, were performed. Eleusis stood in a plain, close to the shore of the Bay of Eleusis, distant some twelve miles by road to the north-west of Athens, from which it is separated by the low, rocky, arid range of Mount Aegaleus. From near the summit of the pass over the range, as you go to Eleusis, there is a famous view backward over the Athenian plain. The scene is especially impressive at evening, when, above the green of the olive groves, the Acropolis with its temples is seen lit up by the golden glory of the descending sun against a background of purple mountains. It was over this pass that the sacred processions always passed between Athens and Eleusis.

The sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis was completely excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society between 1882

[1] *Ciris*, 54 *sqq.*
[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 74.
[3] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 404-409 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 150-151.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 81, with the note.

and 1887. Its remains are now one of the chief places of pilgrimage in Greece.[1]

In his account of the visit of Ceres to Eleusis the poet had in mind the similar story told by the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter, which was followed generally by other ancient writers.[2] But while the author of the hymn and his imitators agree in representing the host of Ceres (Demeter) at Eleusis as the king of the city, whether they call him Celeus, Eleusinus, or Eleusius, our author is singular in describing him as a poor old man whom the goddess fell in with as he was carrying home acorns and blackberries for his supper, and a load of sticks to feed the cottage fire. Ovid tells us that the stone on which the goddess was sitting, sad at heart, when the old man found her, was called Sorrowful ; in Greek it was called Laughless (*agelastos*),[3] and it stood under the shadow of an olive-tree beside a well, which was called the Maiden's Well, where the women of the place drew water.[4] Another name for it was the Flowery Well.[5] There was another well at Eleusis called the Well of the Fair Dances, because at it the women of Eleusis danced and sang in honour of Demeter.[6] This latter well was discovered in 1892 just outside the grand portal of the sacred precinct. It is carefully built of polygonal stones, and the mouth is surrounded by concentric circles that may mark the rounds in which the women of Eleusis tripped about it in the dance.[7]

The myth of the rape of Proserpine, and of Demeter's wanderings in search of her, was performed by torch-

[1] I have described the sanctuary, from personal observation and the reports of the excavators, in my commentary on Pausanias (vol. ii. pp. 503 *sqq.*).

[2] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 96 *sqq.* ; Pausanias, i. 39. 1 ; Apollodorus, i. 5. 1 ; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 20, pp. 16-17 ed. Potter ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382.

[3] Apollodorus, i. 5. 1.

[4] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 98-100. In Greek mythology springs and rivers were often associated with virgins and virginity. See G. Glotz, *L'Ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* (Paris, 1904), pp. 72 *sqq.*

[5] Pausanias, i. 39. 1.

[6] Pausanias, i. 38. 6. This well is confused by Apollodorus (i. 5. 1) with the well beside which Demeter first sat down when she came to Eleusis.

[7] Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1892, pp. 33 *sq.* ; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xvii. (1893) p. 196.

light as a sacred drama in the mysteries of Eleusis.[1] It is highly probable that the myth was told to explain the ritual, and that accordingly it furnishes the key to the mysteries, which otherwise were kept so secret that, apart from a few hints dropped by Christian writers, very little authentic information concerning them has leaked out. The fullest and, to all appearance, the most trustworthy report of the myth is contained in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, which accordingly may be accepted as a document of primary importance for the understanding of the Eleusinian mysteries; and we may infer, with a fair degree of probability, that all the important incidents in the myth had their counterparts in the ritual and in the rules prescribed for the conduct of the initiates. Now the whole myth, in the Homeric hymn, turns on the descent of Proserpine to the lower world and her restoration to the upper world after a time, together with a divine promise that thereafter Proserpine should spend only a third of every year beneath the earth, and that in spring, when the flowers are in bloom, she should emerge from the nether gloom and pass the remaining two-thirds of the year with her mother and the other immortal gods in the upper air.[2] Further, the myth relates how, during her daughter's absence underground, Demeter caused a dreadful famine by forbidding the seed to sprout, so that the oxen drew the ploughs up and down the fields to no purpose, the white barley was scattered in vain over the furrows, and the whole race of men was like to perish of hunger.[3] But as soon as Proserpine emerged from the earth and rejoined her mother, Demeter caused the corn again to sprout from the ploughed lands, and the whole earth to be gay with leaves and flowers; and having done so she immediately imparted her sacred rites and mysteries to the men of Eleusis.[4] It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the story of Demeter and Proserpine

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 12, pp. 11-12 ed. Potter, Δηὼ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δρᾶμα ἤδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικόν· καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσὶς δεδουχεῖ.

[2] As to this promise see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 368-403, 443-447, 461-466.

[3] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 305-313.

[4] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 441-479.

is a myth of the seed-corn sown in autumn and sprouting after four months (a third of the year) in spring, and that the mysteries of Eleusis were primarily and essentially rites designed to ensure the fertility of the earth, particularly the growth of the corn. This conclusion is strongly confirmed by the statement of a Christian writer that the central act of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries consisted in silently showing to the initiated a reaped ear of corn.[1]

Among the incidents of the myth which probably had their counterparts in ritual may have been the one mentioned by Ovid in the present passage. He tells us that at Eleusis the goddess Ceres, that is, Demeter, sat down very sorrowfully on a certain stone, which thereafter was called the Sorrowful Stone. In Greek, as we saw, the name of the stone was Laughless (*agelastos*). Now in the Homeric hymn to Demeter this very adjective is applied to the mourning Demeter at Eleusis. It is said that in the house of Celeus she sat speechless and laughless (*agelastos*), until a certain woman Iambe broke a jest which caused the goddess to smile and laugh.[2] M. Salomon Reinach may well be right in thinking that this incident reflects an obligation incumbent on the initiated to smile and laugh at a certain part of the ritual, just as at the Lupercalia, as we have seen,[3] the two boys were expected to laugh after the blood of the sacrificed goats had been smeared on their foreheads with the sacrificial knife and then wiped away with wool. It is possible, as M. Salomon Reinach suggests, that in both cases the ritual laugh was a symbol or pretence of a new birth after a simulated death.[4]

Again, the incident of Demeter's sitting by the well appears to have had its counterpart in ritual, or at all events in the rules prescribed for the conduct of the initiated; for we are told that such persons, at the time of initiation, were forbidden to sit on the edge of a well, lest they should

[1] Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, v. 8, p. 162 ed. L. Duncker et F. G. Schneidewin, Ἀθηναῖοι μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνια, καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ, τεθερισμένον στάχυν. For more evidence I may refer to *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 35 *sqq*.

[2] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 192-205.

[3] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 267 (Vol. II. p. 340).

[4] S. Reinach, "Le rire rituel", *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, iv. (Paris, 1912) pp. 115 *sqq*.

seem to mimic the mourning Demeter.[1] Taken in connexion with the dances which the women of Eleusis danced round the well at the portal of the sanctuary,[2] the prohibition may point to the worship of a sacred well at Eleusis. For the worship of wells and springs is of immemorial antiquity in Europe, and is by no means extinct at the present day even in England ; among the forms which it takes are circumambulations of the holy well and the throwing of money or pins as offerings into the water. At Oropus persons who had been healed in consequence of an oracle of Amphiaraus used to drop silver and gold coins into the spring at which Amphiaraus was said to have risen up in the character of a god.[3] The worship of a well at the sanctuary of the corn-goddess would be very appropriate ; for how can corn grow without water ?

Another episode in the myth of Demeter which probably had its counterpart in ritual was this. At the moment when the earth yawned and Pluto issued from it to carry off Proserpine, it chanced that a swineherd named Eubuleus was feeding his swine at the spot, and the herd of swine was swallowed up in the chasm along with Proserpine and Demeter ; for in the myth, as reported by Clement of Alexandria, mother and daughter alike vanished into the earth. In memory of this event pigs were thrown into the vaults of the Maiden, that is, of Proserpine, at the festival of the Thesmophoria ; and some time afterwards, perhaps at the next annual celebration of the festival, women called Drawers, who had observed rules of ceremonial purity for three days, descended into the vaults, brought up the rotten remains of the pigs and placed them on the altars ; and whoever took of the putrid flesh and mixed it with his seed-corn was sure to have

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 20, p. 16 ed. Potter.

[2] See above, p. 286.

[3] Pausanias, i. 34. 4, with the other instances cited in my note on the passage (vol. ii. pp. 474 *sq.*). For more evidence see A. De Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes et Traditions des Provinces de France* (Paris, Lyon, 1846), pp. 81, 217-219 ; J. L. M. Noguès, *Les Mœurs d'autrefois en Saintonge et en Aunis* (Saintes, 1891), p. 210 ; J. G. Kohl, *Die deutsch-russischen Ostseeprovinzen* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1841), ii. 33 ; W. Kolbe, *Hessische Volks-Sitten und Gebräuche* [2] (Marburg, 1888), pp. 161 *sqq.* ; Ella Mary Leather, *The Folk-lore of Herefordshire* (Hereford and London, 1912), pp. 11-14 ; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), pp. 68-70, 76 *sq.*, 106-117.

an abundant crop of corn.[1] It is true that these rites were not observed at the Eleusinian mysteries, but at the Thesmophoria, another festival of Demeter; but the rites were similarly explained by the myth of Proserpine's descent into the lower world, and the mixing of the remains of the sacrificial victims with the seed in order to ensure a good crop of corn speaks eloquently in favour of the view that Demeter and Proserpine were no other than personifications of the corn. To this episode of the myth Ovid has alluded when he said that pigs foiled the tracks of Proserpine when her mourning mother endeavoured to follow them up[2]

IV. 517. **She had disguised herself as an old dame and covered her hair with a cap.**—So the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter says that the goddess assumed "the likeness of an ancient woman past the age of child-bearing, such as are nurses of kings' children and housekeepers in their echoing halls".[3]

IV. 531. **she plucked a smooth, a slumberous poppy that grew on the waste ground; and as she plucked, 'tis said she tasted it forgetfully, and so unwittingly stayed her long hunger.**—Here again, as Ovid immediately observes, the myth was used to explain the ritual. For in agreement with the Homeric hymn to Demeter our author represents the goddess as fasting during her long search for her daughter, and as only breaking her fast by accident when she entered at nightfall the house of her host at Eleusis. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter we read that for nine days Demeter roamed the earth with the torches in her hand, without ever tasting of nectar and ambrosia, the food of the gods;[4] and that when she entered the house of Celeus at Eleusis, the king's wife Metanira offered her a cup of wine, but the goddess refused it, saying that it was not lawful for her to drink wine; instead she asked for a draught (*cyceon*) of water thickened with barley-meal and penny-royal, and she took

[1] *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Lipsiae, 1906), pp. 275 *sq.* (on *Dial. Meretr.* ii. 1); Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 17, p. 14 ed. Potter; Pausanias, ix. 8. 1. See further *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 16 *sqq.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 465 *sq.*

[3] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 101-104.

[4] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 47-50.

it in order to comply with the ritual.[1] Here the long fast of the goddess, followed by her drinking a special draught (*cyceon*), is undoubtedly copied from the rules observed by worshippers at initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries; for in proof that he had really graduated, every initiated person had to declare solemnly, "I fasted, I drank the draught (*cyceon*)", and so forth.[2] We can hardly doubt that under the guise of a mythical narrative the author of the hymn to Demeter has revealed the true composition of the draught which the initiates had to drink in token of their admission to the mysteries. The draught was probably regarded as a sacrament or form of communion with the goddess; for barley is among the most ancient of cultivated plants,[3] and it is likely enough that Demeter was the barley-goddess in particular before she became the corn-goddess in general. Indeed, it was plausibly argued by W. Mannhardt that her very name means literally Barley-mother, being derived from *deai*, a Cretan word for barley, and *meter*, "mother".[4] However, the derivation of the first part of the name from this root is open to some philological objections.[5]

In the present passage Ovid says that Ceres (Demeter) broke her long fast by accidentally tasting of a poppy, and he connected this act with the ritual of initiation, for he adds (lines 535-536) that "hence, because she broke her fast at nightfall, the initiates time their meal by the appearance of the stars". Elsewhere Ovid himself has followed the orthodox version of the myth and ritual; for he describes how

[1] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 206-211. The words which I have translated "to comply with the ritual" are ὁσίης ἕνεκεν. They imply that the drinking of the draught was a religious obligation.

[2] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 21, p. 18 ed. Potter; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 26. As to the composition of the draught see F. Lenormant, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, i. 2. p. 1690, *s.v.* "Cyceon".

[3] A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), p. 367.

[4] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 281 *sqq.*, especially 292 *sqq.* As to the derivation from *deai*, a Cretan word for barley, see *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Δηώ, p. 264 line 12, ἡ Δηὼ παρὰ τὰς δηάς· οὕτω γὰρ δηαὶ προσαγορεύονται ὑπὸ Κρητῶν αἱ κριθαί.

[5] The objections are stated by my ever lamented friend, the late J. H. Moulton, in *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. p. 131, note [4].

the weary and thirsty goddess received from an old woman, at whose cottage door she had knocked, a draught of water thickened with parched barley, and he adds a curious anecdote. While the goddess was slaking her thirst, a rude boy laughed at her and called her greedy. Touched to the quick by the insult, the goddess threw the remainder of the draught, with the barley grains, in his face, and immediately he was turned into a spotted lizard, the barley grains coming out in the form of spots on his skin.[1] According to one account, which Ovid may have had in mind in the present passage, the sad and weary Ceres tasted of a poppy in order that, benefiting by its soporific virtue, she might fall on sleep and forget her sorrow.[2] Poppies were called her flowers,[3] and she was represented with corn-sheaves and poppies in her hands,[4] or wearing a wreath of corn-ears and with poppies twined about her figure.[5] In many existing works of ancient art the same symbolism serves to identify the goddess who presided over fields of yellow wheat or barley spangled with scarlet poppies.[6] Some fancied that the poppy was a youthful Athenian whom the goddess loved and turned into the flower which bore his name.[7] At Lycosura white poppies were among the offerings prescribed in the worship of the Mistress, who was only Persephone under another name.[8]

In the year 191 B.C. there occurred a number of alarming prodigies, and the Sibylline Books, being consulted by the College of Ten Men who had charge of them, recommended that to expiate them a fast should be instituted in honour of Ceres and observed every fourth year. The Senate passed a decree accordingly ;[9] in the Amiternine calendar the fast is entered under the fourth of October.[10]

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 446-461. [2] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 212.

[3] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 212 ; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28, p. 56 ed. C. Lang, *ἀνατιθέασι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς μήκωνας.*

[4] Theocritus, vii. 156 *sq.*

[5] Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, iii. 11. 5.

[6] J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. 421, 479, 505, 514 ; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 268, with Plate xxviii.

[7] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 212, where for *Myconem* we must read *Meconem* (*μήκων*, "poppy").

[8] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 999 ; *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ed. J. de Prott et L. Ziehen, ii. 197, No. 63.

[9] Livy, xxxvi. 37. 1-4.

[10] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 245, 331, "*Ieiunium Cereris*".

IV. 539. **The goddess saluted the mother (her name was Metanira).**—This is the name which the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter gives to the wife of Celeus, king of Eleusis, and mother of the sick child.[1] Apollodorus, like Ovid, accepts Metanira as the name of the wife and mother.[2] She had a sanctuary on the way from Eleusis to Megara, not far from the Flowery Well.[3]

IV. 550. **the goddess took up Triptolemus in her lap.**—The author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter calls the sick child Demophon, and herein he is followed by Apollodorus.[4] But Hyginus, Servius, and Lactantius Placidus agree with Ovid in naming him Triptolemus.[5] In the Homeric hymn to Demeter the author speaks of Triptolemus as one of the princes of Eleusis to whom Demeter revealed her mysteries; but he says nothing of any relationship between Triptolemus and Celeus, king of Eleusis.[6] Apollodorus represents Triptolemus as the elder of Metanira's children, but he mentions other parentages for him on the authority of Panyasis and Pherecydes.[7] Ancient authors, indeed, entertained very various opinions on the subject,[8] which is not surprising when we remember that Triptolemus was probably a purely mythical personage.

IV. 553. **and on the hearth she buried the boy's body in live embers, that the fire might purge away the burden of humanity.**—The author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter tells how Demeter, in the guise of an old woman, offered to nurse the infant Demophon and to guard him against the spells of witches. So by day she anointed him with ambrosia, as if he were the child of a god, but by night she held him like a brand in the fire, so that he grew wonderfully beyond his age and resembled the gods in feature. But his mother Metanira, from her chamber by night, spied the goddess holding her child in the fire, and in great alarm she cried out. Then Demeter, angry at the interruption, took the

[1] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 161, 206, 212, 234, 243, 255.
[2] Apollodorus, i. 5. 1.
[3] Pausanias, i. 39. 2.
[4] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 234, 248; Apollodorus, i. 5. 1.
[5] Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382.
[6] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 153, 473 *sq.*
[7] Apollodorus i. 5. 1.
[8] Pausanias, i. 14. 2-3

child out of the fire and set him on the ground, and told the mother that, had she been left alone, she would have made the child deathless and ageless for ever, but that now immortality was not for him, though nevertheless eternal honour would be his, because he had sat on the knees of a goddess and slept in her arms.[1] The story is told more briefly, but substantially in the same way, by Apollodorus, who says that by night the goddess "set the babe of nights on the fire and was stripping off his mortal flesh",[2] an expression equivalent to Ovid's explanation, "that the fire might purge away the burden of humanity". Hyginus, Servius, and Lactantius Placidus tell the tale similarly, except that they call the child Triptolemus, not Demophon, and that according to them it was the father, not the mother, who rashly interrupted the goddess at her midnight task and so frustrated her intention of making the infant immortal. They do not mention Demeter's application of ambrosia to the babe, but say that by day she fed it with her own divine milk.[3]

A precisely similar story set forth how the sea-goddess Thetis tried to render her son Achilles immortal, and how she was baffled by the untimely intervention of the child's father Peleus. It is said that at dead of night she ever kept burning the infant's mortal flesh in the flame of the fire, but by day she anointed his tender body with ambrosia, in order that he might become immortal and never know the misery of old age. But Peleus from his bed saw his child writhing in the flames, and leaping up, he uttered a terrible cry. At that Thetis threw the babe screaming on the ground, passed away out of the house like a breath or a dream, and plunging into her native sea, never came back to her husband in his desolate home.[4] The story is repeated by Apollodorus, who says that by hiding the infant in the fire Thetis sought to destroy the mortal element which he inherited from his human father Peleus.[5]

[1] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 223-264.

[2] Apollodorus, i. 5. 1.

[3] Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19, 163; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382.

[4] Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 865-879.

[5] Apollodorus, iii. 13. 6. Compare Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 178 (vol. i. p. 458 ed. Müller).

A similar story was told of the great Egyptian goddess Isis, whose resemblance to Demeter has often been remarked from the time of Herodotus onward.[1] It is said that, when she was searching for the dead body of the murdered Osiris, she came to Byblus in Syria, and sat down there beside a spring, in dejection and tears. There she spoke to nobody till the queen's handmaids came. With them she made friends, and plaited their hair, and breathed on them a sweet perfume from her own divine person. When the queen saw the handmaidens so trim and so fragrant, she marvelled at it, and sent for the stranger woman, or rather the goddess. And when Isis came, the queen took kindly to her and made her the nurse of her child. Now the name of the king was Malcander, and the name of the queen was Astarte, or Saosis, or Nemanus. So Isis nursed the child, giving him her finger to suck instead of her breast; but at night she burned away all of him that was mortal, and turning herself into a swallow, she fluttered twittering mournfully about the pillar of the house, in which the coffin with the dead body of Osiris was enclosed. But when the queen saw her child burning in the fire, she cried out, and so prevented him from becoming immortal. Then Isis revealed herself and asked to be given the house-pillar; and the queen gave it to her, and she cut out the tree containing the coffin, and anointed it, and long afterwards the people of Byblus worshipped the tree in the sanctuary of Isis.[2]

These myths testify to an ancient belief in the possibility of attaining immortality by means of fire, which is supposed to burn away the mortal elements of the body, leaving only the incorruptible and immortal essence behind. In all three legendary cases the person to whom the fire is applied with this kindly intention is an infant. Perhaps the legends contain a reminiscence of an old custom of passing children across a fire in order to protect them against sorcery and other evil influences and so prolong their lives indefinitely. It is noteworthy that in undertaking to nurse Metanira's child Demeter professed to know charms which would guard the

[1] Herodotus, ii. 59, 156; Diodorus Siculus, i. 13. 5, i. 25. 1, i. 96. 5; Apollodorus, ii. 1. 3; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 212 (vol. i. p. 483 ed. Müller).

[2] Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 15.

infant against the baleful arts of demons and witches.[1] The ancient Greek practice of running round the central hearth with an infant on the fifth or seventh day after birth[2] may have been a substitute for an older custom of passing the child over the fire, for such a custom has been practised from superstitious motives by many peoples, both savage and civilized, in many lands.[3] In the Highlands of Scotland, to quote a single case, "it has happened that, after baptism, the father has placed a basket filled with bread and cheese on the pot-hook that impended over the fire in the middle of the room, which the company sit around; and the child is thrice handed across the fire, with the design to frustrate all attempts of evil spirits or evil eyes".[4] It is possible that the ancient Hebrew or Canaanite custom of making children "pass through the fire to Molech"[5] may have been originally nothing more than a harmless practice of thus passing the infants over a fire as a protection against demons and sorcery.[6]

The same motive may perhaps explain the widespread custom known as the Fire-walk, which consists in walking barefoot over a fire of glowing embers. This curious rite has been observed and recorded among many peoples, civilized and savage, from antiquity down to the present time.[7] In antiquity it is known to have been celebrated in at least two places. At Castabala in Cappadocia there was worshipped an Asiatic goddess whom the Greeks called the Perasian Artemis, and her priestesses used to walk barefoot over a fire of charcoal without sustaining any injury.[8] And at the foot of Mount Soracte in Southern Etruria there

[1] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 227-230.

[2] Hesychius, *s.vv.* Ἀμφιδρόμια and δρομιάφιον ἦμαρ; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀμφιδρόμια; Scholiast on Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 160 E.

[3] I have collected many instances in a note, "Putting Children on the Fire", appended to my edition of Apollodorus, vol. ii. pp. 313-317.

[4] Th. Pennant, "Second Tour in Scotland", in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. 383.

[5] Leviticus xviii. 21; Deuteronomy xviii. 10; 2 Kings xvii. 17; Jeremiah xxxii. 35.

[6] I have discussed the custom in *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 168 *sqq.* The resemblance of the Semitic to the Greek custom had already been noticed by G. Glotz (*L'Ordalie dans la Grèce primitive*, pp. 105 *sq.*).

[7] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 1-20.

[8] Strabo, xii 2. 7, p. 537.

was a sanctuary of a goddess named Feronia, where once a year the men of certain families walked thrice barefoot, but unscathed, over the glowing embers and ashes of a great fire of pinewood, carrying the entrails of the sacrificial victims in their hands. In doing so they were believed to be inspired by the goddess Feronia, in whose sanctuary the performance took place. The spectacle attracted a vast multitude from all the country round about, who came to pay their devotions to the goddess or to ply their business at the holy fair. The families from whom the performers were drawn went by the name of the Hirpi Sorani or "Soranian Wolves"; and in return for the services which they rendered the commonwealth by the performance they were exempted, by a special decree of the senate, from military service and all public burdens.[1]

The story of Demeter's attempt to make a child immortal by placing him on the fire is incorporated in the myth of her visit to Eleusis, and we have every reason to regard that myth as a veiled description of the Eleusinian mysteries. Hence we may infer, with some degree of probability, that candidates for initiation had to submit to some similar ordeal of fire in order to purge them of mortal dross and to fit them for that blissful immortality which was held out as a reward to such as had passed successfully through every stage of the mystic ceremonies.[2]

IV. 570. **on the other side Meroe, and the parched land.**—The city of Meroe, capital of the kingdom of the same name, was situated in Ethiopia on the upper Nile.

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 19; Varro, quoted by Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 787; Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 784 *sqq.*, with the comment of Servius; Silius Italicus, v. 175-181; Strabo, v. 2. 9, p. 226; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 32. On the subject see W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 327 *sqq.*; compare G. Glotz, *L'Ordalie dans la Grèce primitive*, pp. 106 *sq.* The site of the sacred grove of Feronia has not been identified. Some would place it at Rignano to the south-west of Mount Soracte; others would place it at Nazzano, farther off to the south-east of the mountain. See H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 1 (Berlin, 1902), pp. 369-371; Miss L. R. Taylor, "The Site of Lucus Feroniae", *Journal of Roman Studies*, x. (1920) pp. 29-36.

[2] As to the bliss reserved for the initiates see *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 480-482; Pindar, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. 3. 17, p. 518 ed. Potter (Pindar, ed. Sandys[2], Frag. 137); Sophocles, quoted by Plutarch, *De audiendis poetis*, 4; Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 6; Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 14. 36; Aristides, *Eleusin.* vol. i. p. 421 ed. G. Dindorf.

It was the most southerly city in Africa known to the ancients. Pliny observes that at Meroe twice a year the sun cast no shadow.[1] Strabo tells us that the kings of Ethiopia were revered as gods by their subjects, but kept shut up for the most part in their houses. However, at Meroe the priests in days of old ranked above the king, and from time to time they would send a messenger to him ordering him to die, after which they appointed another to reign in his stead. It was also a rule of Ethiopian kingship that, when a king was maimed in any part of his body, his courtiers and attendants must suffer a corresponding mutilation, and that when he died they must die with him.[2]

IV. 577. **"Ye Parrhasian stars, reveal to a wretched mother her daughter Persephone; for ye can know all things, since never do ye dip under the ocean waves."**—The "Parrhasian stars" are the constellation of the Great Bear, which was supposed to be the Arcadian nymph Callisto transformed and elevated to the sky.[3] Here and elsewhere Ovid uses the adjective Parrhasian as equivalent to Arcadian, because Parrhasia was a district of Arcadia.[4] As the polar stars never set in our northern latitude, Ceres, or rather Ovid, assumes that they must be omniscient, since their nocturnal watch is never relaxed or relieved. Hence the goddess appeals to them to tell her where is her lost daughter Persephone (Proserpine); and she is answered by Helice (line 580), which is another name for the constellation of the Great Bear.[5]

IV. 581. **Ask of the Sun concerning the ravished maid: far and wide he sees the things that are done by day.**—Having searched the earth in vain for her vanished daughter, the disconsolate goddess has appealed to the stars that keep their eternal vigil by night, in the hope that they may have seen the loved and lost one. But they cannot tell,

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 184.

[2] Strabo, xvii. 2. 2, p. 821, xvii. 2. 3, pp. 822-823.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 153-192, with the notes, Vol. II. pp. 316 *sqq.*

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 478, with the note.

[5] Aratus, *Phaenom.* 51; Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 360, iii. 1195; H. Gundel, *De stellarum appellatione et religione Romana* (Gissae, 1907), p. 70 (162); *id.*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vii. 2, coll. 2858 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Helike". Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 107 *sq.* with the note.

and as a last resort they refer her to the Sun, who sees all things by day, even as the polar stars see all things by night. From the Sun at last the goddess receives sure tidings of her daughter's fate. So in the Homeric hymn Demeter roams the earth for nine days, with her torches in her hands, looking in vain for Persephone (Proserpine). On the tenth day she met Hecate, and with her the goddess, still grasping her lighted torches, repaired to the Sun, and standing before his horses and chariot, in the full blaze of his dazzling light, she inquired of him after her daughter and received the true answer, that Zeus had given her to his own brother Hades (Pluto) to be his buxom bride. Having vouchsafed this answer, the Sun whipped up his horses, and away they swept his car, like birds upon the wing.[1]

Elsewhere Ovid tells us that Ceres learned of her daughter's fate, not from the Sun, but from Arethusa, the nymph of the fountain at Syracuse, who on her passage from Greece to Sicily underground had beheld Proserpine as the sad queen of the infernal world.[2]

IV. 593. **What worse wrong could I have sustained if Gyges had been victorious and I his captive?**—Gyges or Gyes was one of the three brothers called the Hundred-handers, offspring of Sky (Uranus) and Earth.[3] Ovid has here, as elsewhere, confounded the Hundred-handers with the giants who essayed to carry heaven by storm.[4]

IV. 598. **"He is not a son-in-law", said he, "to put us to shame."**—Jupiter consoles Ceres by reminding her that his and her daughter has made a marriage worthy of her rank, and that neither of them has any cause to be ashamed of their son-in-law, Pluto or Hades, who reigned in hell, like Jupiter himself in heaven and Neptune (Poseidon) in the sea. Similarly in the Homeric hymn the Sun comforts Demeter by assuring her that Pluto or Aidoneus (as he calls him) is a most respectable son-in-law, being in fact her own brother, so that the goddess stood to him in the double relationship of sister and mother-in-law.[5] And

[1] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 47-89.
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 487-508.
[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 147 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 1. 1.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 805, with the note; Apollodorus, i. 6.
[5] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 82-87.

in the same hymn Pluto urges the same plea to induce his wife to submit to her lot, representing to her that he is the brother of her father Zeus, and is therefore her uncle as well as her spouse.[1]

IV. 601. **"But if haply thy mind is set immutably, and thou art resolved to break the bonds of wedlock, come let us try to do so, if only she has kept her fast; if not, she will be the wife of her infernal spouse."**—So in the *Metamorphoses* the poet represents Jupiter saying to Ceres, "If thou art so set on parting the two, Proserpine will return to heaven, but on the absolute condition that yonder her lips have touched no food. For so is it by the law of the Fates ordained." Ceres, continues the poet, was resolved on recovering her daughter, but the Fates forbade, because in the lower world Proserpine had broken her fast; for straying in the trim gardens she had plucked a purple pomegranate from a drooping tree and eaten seven of the seeds.[2] In the Homeric hymn to Demeter it is Pluto himself who slyly gives Proserpine a seed of a pomegranate to eat, "that she might not abide for ever with Demeter, the reverend goddess of the dark-blue stole". And on returning to the upper world Proserpine confesses that "he secretly put in my mouth the seed of a pomegranate, honey-sweet food, and by force compelled me to taste against my will".[3]

The story of Proserpine's tasting of the seeds of a pomegranate in hell, which irrevocably sealed her marriage with the lord of the underworld, may perhaps be a reminiscence of an ancient custom of presenting a pomegranate to a bride when she first entered her husband's house. In Crete, we are told, when a bride enters her husband's house after the wedding, she is given a pomegranate, which she breaks and scatters the seeds on the floor.[4] Among the Maronites of Syria, when a bride arrives at her new home, she is pelted with corn and raisins, and she flings a pomegranate, which is eagerly seized and divided by the bride-

[1] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 360 *sqq.*

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 529-538.

[3] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 371-374, 411-413. Compare Apollodorus, i. 5. 3; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39, and on *Aen.* iv. 462; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 511; Lucan, vi. 739-742.

[4] C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuem* (Bonn, 1864), p. 98.

groom's party.[1] Probably in these customs the pomegranate is supposed, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to ensure the bride's fertility by procuring for her many children, like the many seeds of the fruit. On the same principle, we may suppose, among the Ait Warain of Morocco, when a bride is conducted to her husband's house, the mule on which she rides is loaded with roasted barley, raisins, almonds, pomegranates, figs, and honey ; of which the raisins, pomegranates, and figs may be expected, by the multitude of their seeds, to bless her with a numerous progeny, while few will doubt that the honey is well calculated to sweeten the lot of the married pair.[2] That in Morocco a fertilizing virtue is ascribed to pomegranates appears plainly from a custom observed by the Ait Yusi at the first ploughing of the season. On the field the ploughman or the farmer "crushes a pomegranate on the plough-point (*tagúrsa*) so that the grains of corn shall be many and fat as are the pips of the pomegranate ; and in default of pomegranates a dried fig is for a similar reason, on account of the multitude of its seeds, torn into little pieces over the plough-point ".[3]

On this interpretation Proserpine's eating of the seeds of a pomegranate at her nuptials with Pluto is analogous to the ancient and widespread custom of throwing grain or fruit over a bridal pair at human marriages ; for we can hardly doubt that, however the custom may be interpreted in later times, one at least of its original motives was to render the union of the pair fruitful in offspring. The custom has been fully investigated by Professor Edward Westermarck, who has traced it from the Indian Archipelago, Indo-China, and India in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west, and from the times of the *Grihyasūtras* in India down to the present day.[4]

If we accept this view, it will apparently follow that the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter has preserved an archaic trait of the myth which has been effaced by Ovid ; for if the eating of the pomegranate seed was indeed an

[1] C. R. Conder, *Heth and Moab* (London, 1883), p. 285.
[2] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 182.
[3] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), ii. 214.
[4] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* [5] (London, 1921), ii. 470-484.

ancient marriage rite, it seems more probable that the bride should have received the fruit from the bridegroom (as in the Homeric hymn) than that she should have been left to pluck it for herself in the garden (as in Ovid's version).

But it is also possible, and perhaps probable, that the myth of the pomegranate should be otherwise explained. For it is a common and widespread belief that if a living person visits the world of the dead and there partakes of food, he cannot return to the land of the living. Such a belief would explain why Proserpine, after tasting the pomegranate seed in the nether regions, could not return permanently to the upper world, though she might visit it for a portion of every year. To take instances of this belief, the ancient Egyptians thought that, on his way to the spirit land, the soul of a dead person was met by a goddess (Hathor, Nouit, or Nit), who offered him fruit, bread, and water, and that, if he accepted them, he could return to earth no more.[1]

Similarly, the natives of New Caledonia, in the South Pacific, say that when a man dies, messengers come from the other world to guide his soul through the air and over the sea to the spirit land. Arrived there, he is welcomed by the other souls and bidden to a banquet, where he is offered food, especially bananas. If he tastes them, his doom is sealed for ever; he cannot return to earth.[2] The Melanesians believe that the living can go down alive to the land of the dead and return alive to earth. Persons who have done so relate how in the nether world they were warned by friendly ghosts to eat nothing there.[3] The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea tell how the soul of a sick woman at Mawata once went to Adiri, the land of the dead. There she found the ghost of her late husband and the ghosts of many other dead people. She was allowed to stay one day, and the ghosts dressed up and danced in her honour. "The woman saw all kinds of food, some red, some blue, some white; there were coconuts, red and white, sugar-cane, bananas, taro and many other things, but if she had eaten

[1] G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient classique, les Origines* (Paris, 1895), p. 184.

[2] Gagnière, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xxxii. (Lyon, 1860) pp. 439 *sq.*

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 277, 286.

any of them she would have died finally and could not have returned home." [1]

Similar beliefs prevail and similar tales are told among the Maoris of New Zealand. For example, a woman who believed that she had died and passed to the spirit land, related on her return how there she met with her dead father, who said to her, " You must go back to the earth, for there is no one now left to take care of my grandchild. But remember, if you once eat food in this place, you can never more return to life ; so beware not to taste anything offered to you." [2] Again, the Maoris tell of a great chief named Hutu, who performed the same perilous journey. On arriving at the place of departed spirits he encountered a certain being called Hine nui te po, that is, Great Mother Night, of whom he inquired the way down to the nether world. She pointed it out to him and gave him a basket of cooked food, saying, " When you reach the lower regions, eat sparingly of your provisions that they may last, and you may not be compelled to partake of their food, for if you do, you cannot return upwards again ".[3] And in the land of the dead generally, according to Maori belief, the ghosts of friends and ancestors welcomed a newcomer and offered him food, " but such food if accepted would ensure that the partaker dwelt thenceforth in ' The Land of No-Return ' ".[4]

And the same rule which applies to the world of the dead holds good of fairyland. At stated seasons the *brugh* or fairy-dwelling is illumined, the clothing gorgeous, the viands sumptuous, and the tables glitter with vessels of silver and gold. The door is thrown open to all comers, and any of the human race who enters on these occasions is hospitably received and heartily welcomed. Food and drink are offered to him, and his health is pledged. But woe to him if he accepts the proffered food, for all this seeming splendour is illusory, an empty show, and the fairies are luring him to

[1] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 289.

[2] E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (London, 1836), pp. 150-152.

[3] R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, Second Edition (London, 1870), p. 271.

[4] E. Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganni, N.Z., 1904), p. 411.

his doom. "Wise people recommend that, in the circumstances, a man should not utter a word till he comes out again, nor, on any account, taste Fairy food or drink. If he abstains he is very likely before long dismissed, but if he indulges he straightway loses the will and the power ever to return to the society of men. He becomes insensible to the passage of time, and may stay, without knowing it, for years, and even ages, in the brugh. Many, who thus forgot themselves, are among the Fairies to this day." [1]

On the whole it seems probable that what happens to a man who tastes fairy food in a brugh, happened to Proserpine in hell. The pomegranate, of which she most imprudently partook, was enchanted food, and by its magical virtue prevented her for ever from wholly breaking the chain that bound her to the infernal gaol; though by the mercy of Zeus she was free to quit it for a time in spring to pluck once more the fresh flowers in the meadows and to see once more the corn yellowing in the fields and falling in golden sheaves beneath the sickle of the reaper; till the red leaves of autumn, fluttering silently to earth, warned her that it was time for her to return to the shades of the prison-house, her winter home. We need not wonder, then, that the pomegranate was a forbidden fruit in the rites of Demeter and Proserpine. Persons initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis were bound to abstain from pomegranates; [2] women celebrating the Thesmophoria, which commemorated the descent of Proserpine into the nether world, were careful not to eat the seeds of pomegranates; [3] and in the sanctuary which Demeter and her daughter shared jointly on the slopes of Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia the worshippers offered the fruits of all cultivated trees except pomegranates.[4] How, in the long days of summer or the shortening days of autumn, could the divine mother and daughter bear to look on the fruit that had been the source of their sad parting—a parting that was again to be renewed so soon?

[1] J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), pp. 16-17.

[2] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 16.

[3] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 19, p. 16 ed Potter.

[4] Pausanias, viii. 37. 7.

IV. 612. **I would that I too were admitted to the Taenarian vale.**—By "the Taenarian vale" is meant the infernal regions, because one mouth of hell was supposed to be at Cape Taenarum in Laconia.[1] Some people thought that there Hercules had dragged up Cerberus, the hound of hell; but Pausanias, who visited the spot, doubted the truth of the tradition because at the cape he could find no road leading down to hell.[2] However, he seems to have missed the road, for to this day the people of the neighbourhood point to a grotto on the western side of Taenarum, close to the sea, which they regard as the entrance to hell, and they say that the Archangel Michael is often to be seen there fetching up the souls of sinners whose sins God has mercifully pardoned.[3] This corroborative testimony ought surely to dispel the last lingering doubts of the most hardened sceptic.

IV. 613. **if Jupiter had not promised that Persephone should be in heaven for twice three months.**—According to the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter, with whom Apollodorus agrees, Persephone was to spend one-third of each year with her husband Pluto in the nether world and two-thirds of the year with her mother and the other gods in the upper world, returning from the realm of darkness when the earth is gay with the spring flowers.[4] But Hyginus and Servius agree with, or follow, Ovid in reporting that Persephone was to divide her time equally between the two regions, passing six months with her husband below the earth and six months with her mother above the earth.[5]

IV. 615. **Then at last Ceres recovered her looks and her spirits, and set wreaths of corn ears on her hair.**—As the goddesses of the corn, Ceres, or rather Demeter, and her daughter Persephone (Proserpine) are characterized in ancient art by the crowns of corn which they wear on their

[1] Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 43 *sq.*; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 467; Lucan, ix. 36.
[2] Strabo, viii. 5. 1, p. 363; Pausanias, iii. 25. 4-6.
[3] *Bulletino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1857, p. 155 note[2]; B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 248.
[4] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 398-403, 445-447; Apollodorus, i. 5. 3.
[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 564-567; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39.

heads, and by the stalks of corn which they hold in their hands.[1]

IV. 617. **the laggard fields yielded a plenteous harvest.**—So in the Homeric hymn, so long as Persephone was in the under world, her mother Demeter would not suffer the corn to sprout, but kept it hidden, so that there was a great dearth. But when she had received back her daughter, she caused the corn again to grow in the fields and the earth to be covered with flowers and leaves.[2]

IV. 619. **White is Ceres' proper colour; put on white robes at Ceres' festival.**—Later on Ovid again refers to the white robes worn at the festival of Ceres, the Cerialia, contrasting them with the parti-coloured dresses worn at the festival of Flora, the Floralia.[3] In the year 216 B.C., after the battle of Cannae, the annual festival of Ceres was omitted, because no mourners might participate in it, and the slaughter on that day had been so great that every Roman matron was in mourning for some kinsman who had fallen on the fatal field.[4] This suggests that the worshippers of Ceres at that festival were predominantly, if not exclusively, married women. Elsewhere Ovid has described a festival of Ceres at which pious matrons, clad in snowy white, offered garlands of wheaten ears as the first-fruits of the harvest, after observing strict continence for nine nights;[5] and though the description professedly applies to Cyprus, we may assume, with a fair degree of probability, that the details are borrowed directly from Roman usage. The continence observed by women at the annual festival of Ceres is mentioned by Ovid in another passage.[6] The date of this annual festival of Ceres is uncertain, but it appears to have been held at some time in

[1] Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, iii. 11. 5; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28; *Anthologia Palatina*, vi. 104. 8; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. pp. 420, 421, 453, 479, 480, 502, 505, 507, 514, 522, 523, 524, 525 *sq.*; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 217 *sqq.*, 220 *sq.*, 222, 226, 232, 233, 237, 260, 265, 268, 269 *sq.*, 271.

[2] *Homeric Hymns*, II. *To Demeter*, 305-313, 331-333, 349-353, 470-473.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 355 *sq.*

[4] Livy, xxii. 56. 4, xxxiv. 6. 15; Valerius Maximus, i. 1. 15; Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 18. 1-2.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 431-435.

[6] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 10. 1 *sqq.*

August, perhaps on the tenth day of that month. For the battle of Cannae was fought on the second of August,[1] and the festival of Ceres, which was intermitted on account of the mourning, must have followed soon after. In describing the consternation that spread through Rome when the news of the battle reached the capital, Plutarch expressly says that the festival of Demeter (Ceres) "fell in these days", and that the authorities deemed it prudent to omit the festival and the procession, lest the magnitude of the disaster should be brought home to the people by the sight of the few persons attending the rites and the gloom on their faces.[2] From the combined testimony of the Amiternine, Vallensian, and Antian calendars we learn that under the Empire a holiday (*feriae*) was kept on the tenth of August, because on that day altars had been dedicated to Mother Ceres and Ops Augusta in Yoke Street (*Vicus Iugarius*) in the consulship of Creticus and Longus.[3] The consulship of Creticus and Longus is not mentioned by any other ancient writer and its date is consequently uncertain. It is supposed to have fallen in A.D. 7, when the ordinary consuls were Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus and Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus, of whom Metellus Creticus may have held office for the year, while Licinius Nerva may have been succeeded in the course of the year by Lucilius Longus, as consul-substitute. This Lucilius Longus, who died in A.D. 23, was a staunch friend of the Emperor Tiberius in good and evil days; for when Tiberius lay under a cloud in the time of Augustus, Longus was the only senator who shared his exile in Rhodes.[4] In the year A.D. 7 there was a great dearth of grain, and consequently famine at Rome;[5] it would, therefore, be a most appropriate moment at which to dedicate altars to Ceres and Ops as the divine powers best qualified to remedy the scarcity of food. Yoke Street (*Vicus Iugarius*), in which the altars were set up, was a street that led from the Vegetable Market (*forum holitorium*) to the Forum, which

[1] Aulus Gellius, v. 17. 5; Macrobius, *Saturn*, i. 16. 26.
[2] Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 18. 2.
[3] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 240, 244, 248, 324.
[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 15. As to the consulship of Creticus and Longus see Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 324.
[5] Dio Cassius, lv. 31. 3-4.

it entered between the temple of Saturn and the Basilica Julia.[1] The street was said to take its name from an altar of Juno Iuga, who was so called because it was part of her functions to yoke (*iungere*) people in marriage.[2] The present pavement, though it is not ancient, follows the line of the old street as it was after the building of the Basilica Julia. Earlier foundations discovered under the temple of Saturn show that before the Augustan period the street ran a little farther to the south-east.[3]

The reason for dedicating the altar of Ceres on the tenth of August may have been that the tenth of August was the date of the old annual festival of Ceres which had been temporarily omitted in the year of the battle of Cannae. That festival is said to have been a Greek rite borrowed from Greece; it was celebrated by matrons in honour of the recovery of Proserpine.[4] In laying down laws for his ideal State, Cicero would allow nobody to be initiated except in the Greek rites of Ceres.[5] Elsewhere he tells us that when they were first introduced from Greece the rites were performed by Greek women chosen especially from the Greek cities of Naples and Velia, though Roman citizenship was afterwards conferred on the priestess, that in her prayers to the gods she might combine foreign science with a Roman heart.[6] The date of the introduction of the festival is not known, but from an allusion made to it by Arnobius[7] it would seem that the importation took place not long before the battle of Cannae. It is probably to this Greek festival of Ceres, or rather Demeter, that Ovid refers in the two passages in which he records the continence observed by women on the occasion.[8] In one of the passages he implies that the festival was celebrated in honour of the return of Proserpine,[9] which is definitely alleged to have

[1] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2. p. 468 note [2]; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], pp. 171, 172.
[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Iugarius", p. 92 ed. Lindsay.
[3] S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], p. 172.
[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Graeca sacra", p. 86 ed. Lindsay.
[5] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 9. 21.
[6] Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 24. 55.
[7] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, ii. 73.
[8] Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 431-435, *Amores*, iii. 10. 1 *sqq.*
[9] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 10. 45.

been the motive of the Greek festival borrowed by the Romans.[1] Perhaps the first-fruits of the corn-harvest were offered to Ceres at this festival, as Ovid says in the other passage.[2] We know that the first ears of corn reaped at harvest were sacrificed as first-fruits to Ceres.[3] The supposition that the offering was presented at the festival in the early part of August would agree fairly well with the statement of Columella that the corn should be reaped before the greatest summer heat, at the rising of the Dogstar (Sirius),[4] which, according to the same writer, took place on the twenty-sixth of July.[5] This date for the rising of the Dogstar is the exact mean between the true and the apparent risings of the star at morning; for in Ovid's time these risings took place on the nineteenth of July and the second of August respectively.[6]

In any case, this autumn festival of Ceres had nothing to do either with the games of Ceres on the twelfth of April, which Ovid mentions in the present book,[7] or with the annual festival of Ceres which, according to Virgil, was held in the country and attended by all the rustic youth at the close of winter and the beginning of spring.[8] That festival may very well be the one to which Ovid alludes in the present passage; the date (the twelfth of April) would suit very well with Virgil's definition of the time, "at winter's fall and end, when the clear spring is come; then lambs are fat, then wines are mellow, then slumbers sweet, and thick the shadows on the hills".[9] As described by Virgil, the rites comprised an offering of milk, honey, and wine to Ceres and the carrying of a sacrificial victim for good luck thrice round the young crops, while the swains trooped jubilant behind and loudly called on Ceres to visit the homestead.[10]

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Graeca sacra", p. 86 ed. Lindsay, "*Festa Cereris ex Graecia translata, quae ob inventionem Proserpinae matronae colebant*".

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 431-435.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Sacrima", p. 423 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, ii. 20 (21).

[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 53.

[6] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 163 *sq.*

[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 393.

[8] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 338 *sqq.*

[9] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 340-342.

[10] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 344-347.

Servius has recorded a curious rule observed at Rome when the rites of Ceres were being celebrated: no one might mention the name of his or her father or daughter. The only explanation which Servius gives of the rule is that "the fruit of marriage consists in children"; and he traced a certain hostility between Juno (the goddess of marriage), and Ceres, who abhorred marriage on account of the rape of Proserpine. In proof of this hostility he mentions that at Eleusis, when the rites of Ceres, or rather Demeter, were being celebrated, the temple of Juno, that is, of Hera, was shut; and that, on the contrary, when the rites of Juno were being celebrated, the temple of Ceres was closed, and the priestess of Juno (Hera) might not taste the libations that were offered to Ceres (Demeter).[1]

Wissowa thinks that the festival of Ceres in August comprised a dramatic representation of the marriage of Pluto and Proserpine;[2] and when we remember that the festival was certainly of Greek origin, and that its subject was the discovery of Proserpine, we shall be disposed to agree that the marriage of the goddess probably formed part of the scenic show. But it seems improbable that this dramatic representation of Pluto's nuptials can have been the marriage of Orcus, which, according to Servius, was celebrated with great solemnity by or in presence of the pontiffs;[3] for it is difficult to believe that so very conservative a body as the Roman pontiffs would have consented to celebrate a foreign rite or even to sanction it by their presence. Hence if Servius was rightly informed on this point, we must suppose that the marriage of Orcus, the god of the infernal regions, was quite distinct from the marriage of Pluto and Proserpine.

One reason why mourners were forbidden to take part in the festival of Ceres may have been that the ancient mourning garb at Rome was black or at all events dun (*pullus*),[4] while the worshippers of Ceres, as we learn from

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 58.

[2] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 301.

[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 344, "*Nam aliud est sacrificium, aliud nuptias Cereris celebrare: in quibus re vera vinum adhiberi nefas fuerat, quae Orci nuptiae dicebantur, quas praesentia sua pontifices ingenti sollemnitate celebrabant*".

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Praetexta pulla", p. 273 ed. Lindsay; Propertius v. (iv.)

the present passage of Ovid, had to be clothed in white robes.[1] According to Cato, cited by Servius, women wore dark blue garments in mourning.[2] But against this must be set the statement of Plutarch that Roman women in mourning wore white;[3] and Herodian describes how, on the death of an emperor, a waxen image of him, like life, was laid on a great and lofty ivory bed at the gate of the palace, and how the senators sat on one side of the image, and noble ladies sat on the other side, all attired as mourners, the men in black and the women in white.[4] Apparently the fashion in mourning dress for women had changed under the Empire. White is still the mourning colour with some peoples, especially in the Far East, as in Corea, Tonquin, Cochinchina, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.[5] In antiquity white was the colour of mourning costume at Argos;[6] and by a curious reversal of what seems to have been the later Roman usage, the women of Gambrium in Mysia were obliged by law to wear dun-coloured dress in mourning, and men and boys in mourning were under a similar obligation to wear dun, "if they will not wear white",[7] which accordingly would appear to have been thought the proper mourning colour for males. White is, or was down to the

7. 28, "*Atram . . . togam*"; Juvenal, iii. 213 "*Pullati*", x. 245, "*Nigra veste*"; Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 2, "*Atrata plebes*"; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 15. 4, "*Atratus tanquam filiam luxit*"; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*[2] (Leipzig, 1886), i. 356.

[1] The white robes worn by women at the rites of Ceres are mentioned also by Valerius Maximus (i. 1. 15).

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 64, "*Cato ait, deposita veste purpurea, feminas usas caerulea, cum lugerent. Veteres sane* caeruleum *nigrum accipiebant*".

[3] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 26.

[4] Herodian, iv. 2.

[5] J. Ross, *History of Corea* (Paisley, N.D.), p. 318; Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (Paris, 1874), i. p. xxix; J. G. Scott, *France and Tongking* (London, 1885), p. 98; Richard, "History of Tonquin," in J. Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ix. 708; Ch. Lemire, *Cochinchine Française et Royaume du Cambodge*[2] (Paris, 1877) pp. 266, 268; J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), i. 364; E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885) p. 192; Lieut.-Col. J. Low, "On the Laws of Muung Thai or Siam", *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, i. (Singapore, 1847) p. 366; Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam* (Paris, 1854), i. 246. See further my article "On some Burial Customs as illustrative of the primitive theory of the Soul", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) p. 100.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 26.

[7] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 1219; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 520.

nineteenth century, the colour for mourning garb in some parts of Germany;[1] and white is, or used to be, worn at the funerals of young unmarried persons in Shropshire.[2]

IV. 621. **The Ides of April belong to Jupiter under the title of Victor.**—In a desperate battle with the Samnites and Gauls, fought in 295 B.C., the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus vowed a temple to Jupiter Victor.[3] The site of the temple is uncertain. An archaic inscription, containing a dedication to Jupiter Victor, was found on the Quirinal,[4] which might be thought to indicate that the temple stood on that hill. But more probably it stood on the Palatine, for in the *Notitia Regionum*, a document dating from the first half of the fourth century A.D., a temple of Jupiter Victor is mentioned in the Tenth Region, which comprised the Palatine.[5] Some ruins on the western edge of the hill, facing towards the valley of the Circus Maximus and immediately to the south of the temple of the Great Mother, have been conjecturally identified as the remains of the temple of Jupiter Victor, though others would see in them the ruins of the temple of Apollo built by Augustus. They comprise a platform, of about 144 feet long by 82 feet wide, built of concrete and faced with squared blocks of tufa. The temple faced south-west. A monumental staircase of twenty-six steps led up to it on this side. On and around the platform lie fragments of columns of tufa and of red granite, and pieces of coloured marbles, some of which may have belonged to the temple.[6]

An altar of Jupiter Victor is mentioned by Dio Cassius, but without any indication of the place where it stood;[7] and in the *Acts of the Arval Brethren* we repeatedly read

[1] J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch, Aberglauben und andre alte Ueberlieferungen im Voigtlande* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 257; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg* (Oldenburg, 1867), ii. 132 (as to Saterland).

[2] C. S. Burne and G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-lore* (London, 1883), pp. 300 *sq.*

[3] Livy, x. 29. 14.

[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 2994.

[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 557.

[6] R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 138 *sq.*; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 140; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 50 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 138, 142, 146; L. Homo, *La Rome antique*, pp. 38 *sq.*

[7] Dio Cassius, xlvii. 40. 2, τὸν τοῦ Νικαίου Διὸς βωμόν.

of the sacrifice of a bull to Jupiter Victor.[1] In one passage of these *Acts* the mention of the sacrifice of a bull to Jupiter Victor is immediately followed by that of a cow to Victoria.[2] In 294 B.C., only a year after the temple had been vowed to Jupiter Victor, another temple was dedicated to Victoria by the Consul Lucius Postumius, who had vowed it in his aedileship ; the cost of the erection of the edifice was defrayed from fines.[3] This temple of Victoria (Victory) stood on the Palatine, and it was there, as we have seen, that the image of the Great Mother was lodged on her arrival in Rome.[4]

A number of inscriptions dating from A.D. 197 to 238, which were discovered in the Basilica Julia, refer to the meetings of a priestly college in the temple of Champion (*Propugnator*) Jupiter, which, so far as the mutilated state of the inscriptions allows us to judge, appears to have stood on the Palatine.[5] The temple of Champion Jupiter may possibly, as Ch. Huelsen thinks, have been identical with the temple of Jupiter Victor, but this is doubtful.[6] Lanciani would identify with the temple of Champion Jupiter the ruins on the western edge of the Palatine which are more commonly assigned to Jupiter Victor.[7]

IV. 623. **On that day, too, if I mistake not, Liberty began to own a hall well worthy of our people.**—Here, for metrical reasons, Ovid speaks of Halls (*atria*), where he means a single Hall (*atrium*), just as elsewhere he speaks of temples (*templa*) in the plural, where he really refers to a single temple (*templum*).[8]

The year in which the Hall of Liberty was founded is not known, but the building certainly existed in 212 B.C., for in that year, during the war with Hannibal, hostages

[1] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874), pp. 72, 86, 87 ; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 241 (line 87), 451.

[2] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 86 ; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 451.

[3] Livy, x. 33. 9.

[4] Livy, xxix. 14. 14. See above, note on *Fasti*, iv. 347, p. 248.

[5] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 466.

[6] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 50 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 138.

[7] R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 138.

[8] See note on *Fasti*, v. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 2).

of Tarentum and Thurium were lodged in it.[1] The Hall was repaired in 194 B.C. by the curule aediles.[2] The censors appear to have had their office and kept their records in the building.[3] In Cicero's time the judicial torture of slaves was conducted, of all places, in the Hall of Liberty.[4] Under Augustus the Hall was restored in magnificent style by Asinius Pollio, who established in it the first public library of Greek and Latin literature at Rome, adorned with portraits of the authors.[5] The library is alluded to, with a sigh of regret, by Ovid in exile.[6] Copies of many laws, including the one which prescribed capital punishment for a faithless Vestal, were deposited in the Hall.[7]

The position of the Hall of Liberty is not known, but it cannot have been very far from the Forum; for when Julius Caesar planned an extension of the Forum, it was thought that the extension might reach as far as the Hall of Liberty.[8] German soldiers were quartered in it during the last days of Galba.[9] When all the rest of the troops deserted him, the Germans stood by the falling emperor, for he had treated them with special kindness. Hearing of his danger, they hastened to his defence, but, unfamiliar with the streets of Rome, they took a roundabout road and arrived in the Forum too late to save Galba from the swords of the assassins.[10] The incident serves to show that the Hall of Liberty was at some little distance from the Forum, perhaps divided from it by a labyrinth of streets.

Ovid expresses himself with some hesitation ("if I mistake not") in assigning a date to the foundation or dedication of the Hall of Liberty, and it is possible or probable that, as Wissowa supposes, he in fact mistook the Hall of Liberty

[1] Livy, xxv. 7. 12.
[2] Livy, xxxiv. 44. 5.
[3] Livy, xliii. 16. 13, xlv. 15. 5.
[4] Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 22. 59.
[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29; Isidore, *Origines*, vi. 5. 2. Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 115, xxxv. 10.
[6] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 1. 71 *sq.*
[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Probrum", p. 277 ed. Lindsay.
[8] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, iv. 16. 14 (iv. 17), vol. i. p. 324 ed. Winsted, adopting Mommsen's transpositions.
[9] Tacitus, *Histor.* i. 31.
[10] Suetonius, *Galba*, 20. 1. As to the Hall of Liberty (*Atrium Libertatis*) compare O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 108 *sq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 257, 267 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 275.

for an entirely different edifice, namely, the temple of Liberty, which was dedicated on the Aventine by the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, out of the proceeds of fines, at some time in the second half of the third century B.C.[1] The temple is mentioned by Festus.[2] As the Hall of Liberty was not a religious foundation, the day of its dedication would not be recorded in the calendars, whereas the day of the dedication of the temple would be recorded by the simple note *Libertati*; and this note Ovid could easily, though erroneously, understand of the Hall instead of the temple.[3] Augustus built, or restored, a temple of Liberty Jupiter (*Jupiter Libertas*) on the Aventine,[4] but how it was related to the temple of Liberty dedicated by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, we do not know. If it was the same, the thirteenth of April would be a very suitable date for the dedication of a temple to Liberty Jupiter, since the thirteenth of April was the Ides, and all Ides were sacred to Jupiter.[5] Similarly on the Ides (the thirteenth) of June a temple was dedicated to Unconquered Jupiter.[6]

IV. 625. **On the next day steer for safe harbours, thou mariner. The wind from the west will be mixed with hail.**—On the same day Columella notes: "Windy weather and showers, but not continuously".[7]

IV. 627. **on that day, a day of hail, Caesar in battle smote hip and thigh his foes at Modena.**—In 43 B.C. Octavian, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, was sent with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa against Mark Antony, who was besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina (now Modena); and he brought the war to a successful close in three months. Two battles were fought, in the second of which Octavian distinguished himself both as a soldier and a general; but in the first of them, according to his enemy Antony, he ran away and

[1] Livy, xxiv. 16. 19.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Libertatis", p. 108 ed. Lindsay. Compare A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 107, 227 *sq.*

[3] G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2013 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Libertas"; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 138.

[4] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 6, p. 91 ed. Hardy (p. 26 ed. Diehl[4]).

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 15.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 650, with the note.

[7] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 36, "*Decimo octavo Calend. Maias ventosa tempestas, et imbres, nec hoc constanter*".

was not seen till next day.[1] Yet it is to this battle that Ovid here refers. We have an account of the action in a letter written by an officer named Galba, who took part in it. According to him, the battle was fought at Forum Gallorum on the fifteenth (not the fourteenth, as Ovid has it) of April. His letter is dated from the camp on the following day (the sixteenth of April). He says that Antony lost the greater part of his veterans in the battle, but he makes no mention of Octavian's share in the victory.[2] It was for his conduct in the battle that Octavian received the title of Imperator for the first time.[3] There is an allusion to the victory and the honour in a fragmentary passage of an ancient calendar found at Cumae.[4]

IV. 630. **ye pontiffs, offer in sacrifice a pregnant (*forda*) cow. *Forda* is a cow with calf and fruitful, so called from *ferendo*** ("bearing").—So Varro tells us that a pregnant cow was called a *forda*, and that the festival at which many such victims were publicly sacrificed in the wards ("*in curiis*") was hence called the *Fordicidia*, "the slaughter of Pregnant Cows". He, like Ovid, derives *forda* from the verb *ferre*, "to bear".[5] Other and perhaps older forms of the same word were *horda* and *Hordicidia*.[6] These older forms are also recognized by Varro, who says that in the calendars the festival was called *Hordicalia*.[7] But in the ancient calendars which have come down to us the day is uniformly marked FORD(ICIDIA) without any note on the subject.[8] From Ovid (lines 635-636), confirmed

[1] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 10. The battles are described in detail by Appian (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 19. 67-72). [2] Cicero, *Epist. ad Familiares*, x. 30.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 673-676, with the note. [4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 229, 315.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 15, "*Fordicidia a fordis bubus; bos forda quae fert in ventre; quod eo die publice immolantur boves praegnantes in curiis compluris, a fordis caedendis Fordicidia dicta*". Compare Festus, *s.v.* "Fordicidis", p. 74 ed. Lindsay, "*Fordicidis boves fordae, id est gravidae, immolabantur, dictae a fetu*"; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 140, "*Ergo more antiquo hostia si effugisset effugia vocabatur, quae autem subposita fuerat succidanea, si gravida forda*".

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Horda", p. 91 ed. Lindsay, "*Horda praegnans, unde dies, quo gravidae hostiae immolabantur, Hordicidia*".

[7] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 5. 6, "*Quae sterilis est vacca, taura appellata; quae praegnas, horda; ab eo in fastis dies hordicalia nominantur, quod tum hordae boves immolantur*".

[8] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 213, 224, 235, 242, 315. The festival is thus recorded in the Caeretan, Maffeian, Praenestine, and Vatican calendars.

by Varro, we learn that one such pregnant cow was sacrificed in each of the thirty wards (*curiae*) of Rome, and that one or more were slain on the Capitol. The sacrifice, as Warde Fowler justly observed, was no doubt one of the oldest sacrificial rites in the Roman religion.[1]

The intention of the sacrifice, as Ovid plainly shows by his legend of its origin (lines 641 *sqq.*), was to ensure, primarily, the fecundity of the cattle and, secondarily, the fertility of the fields; and this it essayed to do by the use of pregnant victims, which, on the principle of sympathetic magic, were supposed to communicate their own fecundity to the flocks and herds and fields. This purpose is also indicated in the brief account which Joannes Lydus gives of the festival. He calls it Fordicalia, and says that "on the fifteenth of April the high priests (by whom he means the pontiffs) came into the theatre and threw flowers on the people; and round about the sown fields they sacrificed for fertility, and outside the city, at certain definite stations, they prayed and sacrificed to Demeter" (that is, to Ceres).[2]

A like intention may perhaps be traced in a sacrifice offered by the Nandi, a pastoral tribe of East Africa. When disease breaks out in a herd they kindle a large bonfire with wood and shrubs of certain definite sorts. Then they drive the sick herd up to the blaze, where the animals remain standing while a pregnant sheep is brought to them. The sheep is anointed with milk by an elder, who says at the same time, "God give us the belly which is good". Then two men, belonging to clans that may intermarry, seize the sheep and strangle it. The intestines are inspected for omens, and, if these are favourable, the meat is roasted and eaten, while rings are made of the skin and worn by the cattle-owners. Next the cattle are driven round the fire, and milk is poured on each beast. Before the gathering disperses, all persons present pray, saying, "God, we have prayed to thee. Guard for us these here."[3]

This African ritual presents a fairly close parallel to

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 71.
[2] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 72, p. 124 ed. Wuensch.
[3] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 45 *sq.*

the Roman ritual of the Fordicidia and the Palilia [1] in its combination of a pregnant victim, libations of milk, and a great bonfire, round which the cattle are driven; but the Roman ritual has preserved a more archaic feature than the African, in the custom, observed both by sheep and shepherds, of leaping over the bonfire.[2]

IV. 639. **the eldest (Vestal) Virgin burns the calves in the fire, that their ashes may purify the people on the day of Pales.**—This curious purification by means of the ashes of the unborn calves is described by Ovid later on in this book.[3]

IV. 646. **and the light oats overran the choked soil.**—The ancients seem to have regarded oats as a noxious weed, unfit for human food.[4]

IV. 649. **There was an ancient wood, long unprofaned by the axe, left sacred to the god of Maenalus.**—The god of Maenalus is the Arcadian god Pan, whom here, as elsewhere, Ovid confounds with the native Italian god Faunus; [5] and here, as elsewhere, he uses the adjective Maenalian as equivalent to Arcadian, because Maenalus was a mountain in Arcadia sacred to Pan.[6] The following account of Numa's consultation of the oracle of Faunus is based on Virgil's description of the consultation of the same oracle by King Latinus.[7] But while Virgil seems to lay the oracular grove at or near Tibur,[8] Ovid leaves the site of the grove indefinite. In an earlier part of the present work our author has described how King Numa consulted Faunus and Picus in a sacred grove of evergreen oaks at the foot of the Aventine hill,[9] from which it might be argued that in the present passage he intends us to understand the same grove at Rome. But it is perhaps better to suppose that, with Virgil's description before him, he preferred to leave the site vague. The mode of consultation was to sacrifice a sheep, sleep on the

[1] As to the Palila or Parilia see below, *Fasti*, iv. 721 *sqq.*
[2] As to these leaps see below, *Fasti*, iv. 727, 781 *sq.*, 805 *sq.*
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 731 *sqq.*
[4] See *Fasti*, i. 691 *sq.*, with the note.
[5] *Fasti*, ii. 267 *sqq.*
[6] *Fasti*, ii. 192, with the note.
[7] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 81-106.
[8] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 82-84. However, commentators are not agreed in their identification of Albunea, here mentioned by Virgil. See Conington on the passage and Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. 1, col. 1337, *s.v.* "Albunea".
[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 295 *sqq.*

skin, and receive the divine revelation in a dream. King Latinus is said to have sacrificed a hundred sheep and lain down on their fleeces; whereupon the voice of Faunus was heard, giving the oracular response. According to Virgil, the oracle was consulted in doubtful cases by all the tribes of Italy.[1] But the mode of consultation was Greek rather than Roman. In many parts of Southern Italy it is said to be still customary to sleep in churches for the sake of receiving revelations in dreams. At Nocera, for example, the church of the Madonna surnamed *Mater Domini* is frequented for this purpose, and its fame as an oracular seat extends far and wide.[2]

IV. 653. **the second fell in honour of gentle Sleep.**— Sleep (*Somnus*) was not commonly personified and worshipped in Roman religion. However, on a funeral monument found at Rome there is inscribed a dedication to Sleep, represented as a winged Genius asleep and leaning on a torch reversed.[3] In Greek mythology Sleep is definitely personified as the brother of Death.[4] In a curious passage of Homer we read how in the island of Lemnos the goddess Hera offered Sleep a splendid golden throne, a work of Hephaestus, if only he would lull to sleep her too wakeful and watchful husband Zeus. This tempting offer Sleep at first rejected, reminding the goddess how badly he had fared on a former occasion when Zeus woke from his nap in a very bad temper and threw the gods all about the heavenly house. However, when Hera promised to give Sleep one of the Graces, Pasithea by name, to wife, the amorous deity closed with the offer at once.[5] At Troezen there was an altar at which people sacrificed to the Muses and Sleep jointly, because, said they, Sleep is to the Muses the dearest god.[6] Why Homer should have placed the home of Sleep in the island of Lemnos does not appear. Ovid lays the abode of Sleep in a far northern cave of the Cimmerian land, where never shines the sun at rising or

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 85 *sqq.*
[2] Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche*, iv. (Gotha, 1891) p. 177.
[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4976.
[4] Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231; Pausanias, iii. 18. 1.
[5] Homer, *Il.* xiv. 230-282.
[6] Pausanias, ii. 31. 3.

at setting or at noon, but brooding mists for ever dwell, where never cock's shrill clarion summons up the Morn, where never bark of dog is heard, nor ever sough of branches rustling in the breeze may break the eternal silence. From the depths of the cave flows, with a drowsy murmur, the river of Forgetfulness, and at the cavern's mouth grow poppies clustering thick and every herb that lulls to slumber.[1]

The Romans seem also to have personified and deified dreams. When his love Delia lay sick, Tibullus propitiated Dreams with three offerings of holy meal, that no ugly visions of the night might trouble her or his repose.[2]

IV. 655. **Twice the king's unshorn head was sprinkled with water from a spring.**—Elsewhere Ovid applies the epithet "unshorn" to the ancestors of the Romans and to King Numa himself, because it was the ancient Roman custom not to shave the beard.[3] At Lebadea, in Boeotia, persons who were about to consult the oracle of Trophonius were led by two boys called Hermae to the river Hercyna and there washed and anointed with oil, before they might descend into the oracular chasm.[4] No doubt it was deemed necessary to prepare the inquirer for the divine revelation by sprinkling or washing him with holy water. For a similar reason, as Ovid has already told us, Claudia thrice sprinkled pure water on her head before she towed the ship that contained the Mother of the Gods;[5] and the worshipper washed his hands in dew when he prayed to Pales.[6]

IV. 656. **twice he veiled his brows with beechen leaves.**—The beech tree was sacred to Jupiter,[7] who went by the name of Beechen (*Fagutalis*) when he was worshipped in a grove of beech-trees.[8] The bark of the tree might not be employed in certain sacred rites.[9] A wreath of beechen

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 592-622.
[2] Tibullus, i. 5. 13-14.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 30, with the note, vi. 264.
[4] Pausanias, ix. 39. 7.
[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 314 *sq.*
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 777 *sq.*
[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Fagutal", p. 77 ed. Lindsay, "*Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur*".
[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 37; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 152.
[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 35, "*Nec non in quodam usu sacrorum religiosus est fagi cortex*". With this use of the adjective *religiosus* in the sense of "forbidden", "tabooed", compare Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 29, "*Scalas, [nisi] quae Graecae appellantur, ascendere ei plus tribus gradibus religiosum est*".

leaves was apparently supposed to consecrate the wearer and to fit him for receiving a revelation in a dream. In some parts of Germany, Bohemia, and Sweden it is still believed that if a girl gathers seven or nine kinds of flowers on Midsummer Eve and puts them under her pillow, she will dream that night of her future husband.[1] This is your true Midsummer Night's Dream.

IV. 657. **He refrained from the pleasures of love.**—We have seen that in antiquity the practice of continence was often enjoined as a necessary condition of the performance of religious rites.[2]

IV. 657. **no flesh might be served up to him at table.**—This was contrary to the custom observed at the oracle of Trophonius in Lebadea, where, though the inquirer had to comply with rules of ceremonial purity and in particular to abstain from the use of warm baths, he was free to eat plentifully of the flesh of the victims sacrificed to Trophonius.[3]

IV. 658. **he might wear no ring on his fingers.**—Rings on the fingers are often thought to act as spiritual impediments, apparently on account of their resemblance to fetters; hence it is sometimes enjoined to lay them aside when the wearer is about to engage in a religious function. Thus at the sanctuary of the Mistress (Persephone) at Lycosura in Arcadia no worshipper might enter with a ring on his or her finger.[4] For a similar reason, no doubt, the Flamen Dialis at Rome was forbidden to wear a ring, unless it was broken so as to leave a gap in the circuit; for by this gap the spiritual constriction or impediment was clearly obviated.[5] The same train of thought forbade the Flamen Dialis to

[1] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*[2] (Berlin, 1869), p. 228, § 352; K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg* (Wien, 1879–1880), ii. 285, § 1428; J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch, Aberglauben und andre alte Ueberlieferungen im Voigtland* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 376; O. Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen* (Prag, N.D.), p. 312; L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden* (London, 1870), pp. 267 *sq.*

[2] See above, *Fasti*, ii. 328-330, with the note (Vol. II. pp. 364 *sq.*).

[3] Pausanias, ix. 39. 5.

[4] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 999; *Leges Graecorum Sacrae e titulis collectae*, ed. J. de Prott et L. Ziehen, ii. 197, No. 63.

[5] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 6, "*Item anulo uti nisi pervio cassoque fas non est*"; Festus, *s.v.* "Ederam", p. 72 ed. Lindsay, "*Sed ne anulum quidem gerere ei licebat solidum*".

have a knot in any part of his dress ; [1] for knots, like rings, are supposed to act as magical hindrances in the performance of many religious and natural functions.[2]

IV. 660. **after worshipping the god in the appropriate words.**—Similarly in praying to the dead the worshipper had to use the appropriate words ("*sua verba*").[3] In religious ritual the recitation of the proper words is deemed of the utmost importance, just as in magic the recitation of the proper spell is thought essential to success ; a verbal slip is supposed to entail serious or even fatal consequences.

IV. 661. **Meantime, her calm brow wreathed with poppies, Night drew on.**—The brows of Night are appropriately wreathed with the flower that was supposed to lull to sleep. To this drowsy effect of the poppy Ovid has already alluded in the case of Demeter, who gave poppies to a sick and restless child to soothe it into slumber.[4] So in Shakespeare, the villain Iago, looking askance at Othello, mutters :

> "*Not poppy, nor mandragora*
> *Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,*
> *Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep*
> *Which thou owedst yesterday.*" [5]

IV. 662. **and in her train brought darkling dreams.**—The commentators quote Euripides, who calls Earth "Mother of black-winged dreams ; " [6] and Tibullus, who says that in the train of Night come Sleep on dusky wings, and darkling Dreams.[7]

IV. 664. **uttered these words on the right side of the bed.**—Coming from the right side of the bed, or rather of the sheepskins on which Numa was lying, the words were of good omen. So in Catullus's charming poem Septimius accepts it as a happy omen when he hears Love sneezing on the right.[8] In Homer lightning seen on the right is a good omen ; [9] and the cry of a heron on the right is a good

[1] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 9 ; Festus, *s.v.* "Ederam", p. 72 ed. Lindsay.

[2] I have illustrated this supposed property of knots and rings in *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 293-317. See also note on *Fasti*, iii. 257, above, pp. 60 *sq.*

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 542.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 531 *sq.*, 547 *sq.*

[5] Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act iii. Scene 3.

[6] Euripides, *Hecuba*, 70 *sq.*

[7] Tibullus, ii. 1. 87-90.

[8] Catullus, xlv. 17-20.

[9] Homer, *Il.* ii. 353, ix. 236 *sq.*

omen,[1] but the sight of an eagle on the left was a bad omen.[2] On the contrary in Roman augury the left side was lucky, the right side unlucky.[3] In this passage, therefore, Ovid is speaking from the Greek rather than from the Roman point of view.

IV. 669. **His wife, the darling of the grove, extricated him from his doubts.**—Numa's wife was the wood-nymph Egeria, who, being herself a prophetess, could easily read the riddle of the oracle.[4]

IV. 675. **that on the next day the youthful Augustus might receive the sooner the title of emperor for his victories in war.**—Thus, according to our author, Augustus first received the title of emperor (*imperator*) on the sixteenth of April. The date is confirmed by a mutilated passage in the Cuman calendar.[5] The title was conferred on him for defeating Mark Antony and relieving the siege of Mutina (Modena) in 43 B.C.[6] The title *imperator* was originally a purely military one, which in the moment of victory soldiers conferred by acclamation on their general.[7] Assumed by the emperors to disguise their really regal power, it thus came in time to signify a dignity even higher than that of a king. When the Spaniards in Spain hailed the victorious Scipio Africanus as king in 209 B.C., he refused the title, saying that the title of emperor (*imperator*), which he had received from his own soldiers, was good enough for him; but that the title of king, though it might be great in other lands, was intolerable at Rome. The Spaniards, adds Livy, were not insensible of the magnanimity that could thus look down from so great a height on a title to which other mortals looked up in wonder and amazement.[8] But in 45 B.C. the title of emperor (*imperator*) was conferred by the Senate on Julius Caesar for life in a sense hardly

[1] Homer, *Il.* x. 274-277.
[2] Homer, *Il.* xii. 200-209.
[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Sinistrae aves", p. 454 ed. Lindsay (quoting Varro); *id.*, *s.v.* "Sinistrum", p. 476 ed. Lindsay (quoting Ateius Capito); Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 39. 81, with the commentary of A. S. Pease.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 261 *sq.* (with the note), 275 *sq.*
[5] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 229, 315.
[6] See above, *Fasti*, iv. 627 *sq.*, with the note.
[7] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 74.
[8] Livy, xxvii. 19. 3-6.

distinguishable from that which it bears in modern European usage.[1]

By an excess of courtly flattery the poet describes how Venus (Cytherea), the ancestress of the Julian house, to which Augustus belonged by adoption, hastened the setting of the Sun's chariot on the fifteenth of April, that it might rise the sooner on the happy morn when Augustus was hailed emperor for the first time. So Tennyson has represented an impatient lover longing for night and saying :

> " *Move eastward, happy Earth, and leave*
> *Yon orange sunset fading slow.*"

So, again, in a later passage our author makes stars hasten their setting and the bright day anticipate its dawn at the clash of arms, which heralded the coming of Mars the Avenger to take possession of his fine new temple in the Forum of Augustus.[2]

IV. 677. **But when you shall have counted the fourth day after the Ides, the Hyades will set in the sea that night.**— Thus Ovid dates on the seventeenth of April the setting of the constellation of the Hyades at evening. The same date was assigned to the evening setting of the constellation in Caesar's calendar, from which Ovid may have borrowed the information.[3] Columella dated the setting of the Hyades at evening a day later, on the eighteenth of April.[4] The true evening setting of the constellation in Caesar's time was on the twentieth of April.[5]

Columella notes that the setting of the constellation portended rain.[6] Indeed, the Greek name of the constellation signifies " Rainy ", as Cicero observes, who adds that the Romans absurdly called that cluster of stars the Little Sows (*Suculae*), naming them from pigs rather than from

[1] Dio Cassius, xliii. 44. 1-4 ; compare *id.* lxxiii. 17. 1-5. The Greek equivalent used by Dio for the Latin *imperator* is autocrat (αὐτοκράτωρ). On the subject see W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7], pp. 202-204.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 545-552.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 247.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 36.

[5] Ideler, " Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid ", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 153.

[6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 36.

showers.[1] Pliny also associates the constellation with wild and stormy weather on sea and land.[2] Astronomically the Hyades are situated in the forehead of the Bull (*Taurus*);[3] mythically they are said to have been nymphs of Nysa, who reared the prematurely born infant Dionysus and for this service were turned into stars by Zeus, the father of Dionysus. Nothing could have been more appropriate than that the nymphs of the rain should have nursed the god of the vine. The story was told by the old Athenian antiquary Pherecydes.[4]

In this passage Ovid uses the name Doris as synonymous with the sea, probably following a hint of Virgil.[5] Properly speaking, Doris was a sea-nymph, a daughter of Ocean and the wife of Nereus.[6]

IV. 679. **When the third morn shall have arisen after the disappearance of the Hyades, the horses will be in the Circus.**— Ovid is now speaking of the nineteenth of April. In the Esquiline, Caeretan, Maffeian, and Praenestine calendars the day is marked as a festival of Ceres (Cerealia).[7] Thus the festival lasted from the twelfth to the nineteenth of April. It is seldom mentioned by its proper name (Cerealia or Cerialia),[8] being cast into the shadow by the popularity of the games, which formed the most prominent part of the celebration.[9] The horse or rather chariot race in the Circus, which Ovid here notices, is mentioned also by Dio Cassius, who tells us that in 42 B.C. the aediles substituted a gladiatorial show for the race.[10]

It is possible and indeed probable that these games,

[1] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 43. 111.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 247.

[3] Aratus, *Phaenom.* 173 *sq.*; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 14; Germanicus, *Aratea*, 178.

[4] Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173 (in Martianus Capella ed. Eyssenhardt, p. 396); *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 84, Frag. 46. Hyginus and the scholiasts on Homer and Germanicus cite Pherecydes as their authority for the tale.

[5] Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 5.

[6] Hesiod, *Theog.* 240-242; Apollodorus, i. 2. 2 and 6.

[7] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 210, 213, 224, 236, 315.

[8] See Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 393, 711. In the latter of these passages Ovid mentions the festival by its proper name (Cerealia), and so does Varro (*De lingua Latina*, vi. 15. "*Cerialia a Cerere*"). It is doubtful whether the correct spelling is Cerealia or Cerialia.

[9] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 315.

[10] Dio Cassius, xlvii. 40. 6.

which formed the most prominent part of the Cerialia, were not so irrelevant to the main purpose of the festival as we are apt to suppose. For the main purpose of the festival of the Corn-goddess can only have been to promote the growth of the corn, and, strange as it may seem to us, not a few agricultural peoples have been, and indeed still are, in the habit of playing games for the sake of thereby procuring good crops. At Eleusis itself, the greatest centre of the worship of the Corn-goddess in Greece, the rites comprised horse-races, foot-races, leaping, wrestling, and boxing, which were held in honour of Demeter and Persephone as a thank-offering at the conclusion of the corn-harvest, and the victors in the games were rewarded with measures of barley distributed among them by the priests.[1] We have the authority of Aristotle himself for the statement that the games were instituted "for the sake of the fruits of Demeter", that is, for the corn.[2] Elsewhere I have cited evidence of games played by savage tribes in Borneo and New Guinea for the express purpose of promoting the fruits of the earth, on which they depend mainly for their subsistence.[3] I will here content myself with citing some additional evidence which has come to my knowledge since I wrote on this subject formerly.

Thus "in villages in South Canara (India) there are certain *rākshasas* (demons), called Kambla Asura, who preside over the fields. To propitiate them, buffalo races, which are an exciting form of sport, are held, usually in October and November, before the second or sugge crop is sown. It is believed that, if the races are omitted, there will be a failure of the crop. The Koragas (field labourers)

[1] Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 150, p. 228 ed. Boeckh; Aristides, *Panathen.* and *Eleusin.* vol. i. pp. 168, 417 ed. G. Dindorf. As to the barley distributed by the priests as prizes in the games see the inscription in Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[2], No. 587, lines 259 *sqq.* (vol. ii. pp. 313 *sq.*) (this important inscription is not included in the third edition of the *Sylloge*); Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 609 (p. 463); and the scholiast on Pindar, *l.c.*, ἔπαθλον δὲ κεῖται κριθαί. See further *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 70 *sqq.*

[2] Aristotle, quoted by the Scholiast on Aristides, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, ii. 189.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. chap. iii. "Magical Significance of Games in Primitive Agriculture", pp. 92-112.

sit up through the night before the Kambla day, performing a ceremony called *panikkuluni*, or sitting under the dew. They sing songs to the accompaniment of a band about their devil Nīcha, and offer toddy and a rice pudding boiled in a large earthen pot, which is broken so that the pudding remains as a solid mass. This pudding is called *kandēl addē*, or pot pudding. On the morning of the races, the Holeyas (agrestic serfs) scatter manure over the fields, in which the races are to take place, and plough it. On the following day, the seedlings are planted. To propitiate various demons, the days following the races are devoted to cock-fighting, in which hundreds of birds may take part." [1]

In this account it is highly significant that the races are said to take place in the very field which the cultivators desire to fertilize; and further that the field is ploughed and manured immediately before the races are run, and that it is sown on the day after them. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the intimate relation supposed to exist between the races and the fertility of the ground. Indeed, the races are deemed more essential than the manure and the seed; for the people believe that, if the races do not take place, there will be no crop, however much they may plough and manure and sow the field.

Among the Baré-speaking Toradyas of Central Celebes, in the evening of the day before the planting of the rice begins, the villagers assemble in the rice-field, and after partaking of a meal, spend the whole night in playing games and dancing. One game that is always played on these occasions is called calf-kicking, and consists in the young men kicking each other's calves. This is considered a part of the ceremony of planting. The natives say that the gods love to behold it, and that if the game were omitted the other plants in the field, including maize and cucumbers, would not thrive.[2]

The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea are an

[1] E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India* (London, 1912), pp. 298 *sq.*

[2] N. Adriani en Alb. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–1914), ii. 248 *sq.*, 388 *sq.*

agricultural people, who depend to a great extent for their living on the produce of their gardens, of which the yams form an important part and have been cultivated by the people from time immemorial.[1] While the yams are growing almost everybody in the village, old as well as young, plays at cat's cradle, and the strings used in the game are employed to tie up the first few stalks of the yams or are scattered about in the gardens where the yams are planted. The intention, we are told, "is to help the yam stalks to grow well and twine in the right way". For anybody can see for himself that by twining string about your fingers you help the yams to twine about the poles. Also the people play at skipping-rope "to teach the yams to grow large", though in this case the relation of cause and effect is not so instantaneously obvious to the untutored European mind. The natives explain it by saying that "foot go down along ground, yam go too, come big fellow"; which seems to mean that by alighting heavily on the ground you teach the yam to plunge into the soil, and so in due time to emerge a "big fellow".[2]

These Kiwai Papuans also play at the child's game of the bull-roarer as a means of promoting the growth of the yams. When all the yams have been planted, the men, decked in all their finery and painted as for a great festival, take the bull-roarers (thin slats of wood attached to strings) and swing them all together. The booming noise may be heard far off like the rumble of many drums, and frightens the women and young people at home, who do not know what it means. When the swinging and the roar have gone on for some time, the men lay down the bull-roarers in the gardens, and seizing their bows and arrows hold them drawn, while they dance, making their feather dresses to wave with their leaps and capers. As they dance, they sing a song, in which they recite the names of all the different sorts of yams and bid them to grow. The fertilizing effect of swinging the bull-roarers over a yam garden is not limited to the yams; it helps all the other gardens of bananas,

[1] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), pp. 64, 66.

[2] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, pp. 78 *sq.*

taro, and so forth to grow likewise.[1] The bull-roarer was swung at the Greek mysteries to make a whirring noise,[2] and in the light of the Papuan parallel it is not rash to suppose that the booming sound may have been in like manner intended to promote the growth of the corn or the vines ; for apparently it was sounded at the rites of Dionysus rather than of Demeter. But the worship of Dionysus was from an early period associated with that of Demeter in the Eleusinian mysteries, where the god was known by the mystic name Iacchus.[3]

Among some of the Ibo tribes of Southern Nigeria, particularly among the Ikwerri, wrestling " is practised as a religious ceremony, with the idea of strengthening the crops by sympathetic magic. The onlookers at once interfere should either wrestler seem to be growing tired or angry—probably that no ill effect should be produced on the reproductive forces of nature." [4] At Elele, a town of the Ikwerri, in Southern Nigeria, dwells a priest named Eleche, who is the head of what Mr. Talbot calls the yam-cult. Early in May, at the beginning of the rainy season, all the inhabitants gather to witness a wrestling match which is held in the open space before the priest's house. The match is repeated every eighth day for about three months until the new yam festival, during which the feast of the ancestral spirits is also held. Later all go to the abode of a certain chief in another quarter of the town, and there wrestle in honour of Mbara (Lord of the Town), the spirit or fetish of the new corn, of which the chief is priest. After his festival is over, all wrestling ends for the year. Questioned by Mr. Talbot, this priest of the corn-spirit replied : " We think that this ceremony will help the crops to grow strong, overcoming evil influences and bearing much increase. The reason why the wrestling is held first at Eleche's place and

[1] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, pp. 75 *sq.*

[2] See the old Greek scholiast on Clement of Alexandria, quoted by Chr. Aug. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 700, κῶνος ξυλάριον οὗ ἐξῆπται τὸ σπαρτίον καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἐδονεῖτο ἵνα ῥοιζῇ. Compare Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), p. 39.

[3] Höfer, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1 *sqq.*, *s.v.* " Iakchos ".

[4] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), iii. 816.

then mine, is that his Juju Aya-Eke is wife to my Juju 'Mbara. The first is feminine and looks after the yams; mine is male, the spirit of corn." [1]

Thus among the Ikwerri of the Niger Delta the wrestling is supposed to contribute to the growth both of the yams and of the corn. May not the wrestling in honour of Demeter at the close of the harvest in Eleusis have been similarly designed to promote the crops of barley and wheat in the coming year? The analogies which I have adduced from the practice of primitive agricultural communities appear to speak in favour of the view. And when we remember further the importance which the Greeks from the earliest times ascribed to the observance of funeral games in honour of the dead,[2] we shall probably incline to the conclusion that the great solemnity, which ancient Greece attached to games in the arena, as to plays in the theatre, was rooted deep in religion or in religion's elder sister, in magic.

IV. 681. **I must therefore explain the reason why foxes are let loose with torches tied to their burning backs.**—From this we gather that on the nineteenth of April foxes with burning torches tied to their tails were let loose in the Circus Maximus as part of the shows in honour of Ceres. To explain it Ovid tells us how he learned from a friend at Carseoli, that in the country it was customary at the festival of Ceres to burn a fox, because a fox, wrapt in straw and hay, with a lighted brand tied to it, had once on a time accidentally run through the cornfields and set the corn on fire. From this narrative all that we can safely infer is that in some parts of the country a fox was annually burned at the festival of Ceres on the nineteenth of April; we cannot safely infer, nor is it probable, that farmers would have tied a burning torch to its tail and let it loose in the fields

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* (Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 106-111. Compare *id.*, "Some Beliefs of To-day and Yesterday (Niger-delta Tribes)", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xv. No. lx. (July 1916) pp. 309-311. By *juju* is meant what is more commonly called fetish. Both words are bad and might perhaps be with advantage replaced by the English word spirit. As to the priest of the yam-cult, and his limited tenure of office, see note on *Fasti*, iii. 271, above, pp. 79 *sqq.*

[2] Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 92-105, "Funeral Games".

to play havoc with the growing crops. The story of the boy who thus let the animal loose was a myth told to explain why a fox was burned at the festival; it need not necessarily, though it possibly may, reflect the exact form of the ritual.

Why then was a fox burned at a festival of the Corn-goddess Ceres in spring? W. Mannhardt, whose opinion on all agricultural rites in Europe was entitled to the highest respect, thought that at Carseoli on the nineteenth of April foxes wrapt up in cornstalks and straw were set on fire and allowed to run through the fields of growing corn as representatives of the corn-spirit, who is still undoubtedly conceived in the form of a fox by the peasants in some parts of Germany and France.[1] On this hypothesis we must apparently interpret the ceremony as a rite to promote the fertility of the fields by letting the representative of the corn-spirit run about them. We may grant that on this view the perambulation of the fox was in itself admirably suited to the purpose; but how on this theory are we to explain the burning torch tied to his tail? How can we suppose that the animal was at the same moment stimulating the growth of the corn and burning it down in its fiery progress? It is, therefore, perhaps more probable that on this day the fox perished, not in the august character of the corn-spirit, but in the less assuming capacity of simple vermin, and that the burning of the creature alive, wrapt up in straw, was intended to serve as an awful warning to other foxes not to come and poach on the farmer's fields. On this hypothesis we need not suppose that the holocaust was perambulatory, with consequent damage to the young corn; it may have been stationary, the poor animal being burnt on a pyre, while the rustics, standing around, gloated over its dying agonies and chuckled at the thought that there would be no more foxes scouring the fields for that year at least.

This explanation falls in with, and to some extent is confirmed by, the many quaint devices to which farmers both in antiquity and in modern times have resorted for the purpose of ridding their fields of vermin, such as mice,

[1] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 108-110. As to the corn-spirit in the form of a fox see further *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 296 *sq.*

weevils, caterpillars, sparrows, and so forth. For example, an ancient Greek treatise on agriculture advises the farmer who would rid his lands of mice to act as follows: "Take a sheet of paper and write on it as follows: 'I adjure you, ye mice here present, that ye neither injure me nor suffer another mouse to do so. I give you yonder field' (here you specify the field); 'but if ever I catch you here again, by the Mother of the Gods I will rend you in seven pieces.' Write this and stick the paper on an unhewn stone in the field before sunrise, taking care to keep the written side up."[1] The reason for the last precaution is obvious; if the paper were upside down, the mice could not read it. In the Middle Ages, and even down to the eighteenth century, formal law-suits were sometimes brought against vermin, such as rats, mice, weevils and caterpillars, to compel them to quit the lands which they infested,[2] but I do not remember to have read of a writ served on foxes.

Foxes were sometimes burnt in the midsummer fires at Paris,[3] and it appears that in Savoy also foxes were sometimes burnt in the midsummer fires as the foes of agriculture.[4] If the custom is correctly reported, it furnishes an exact parallel to the ancient Roman custom as interpreted by me.

Others have proposed to explain the Roman custom as designed to protect the corn against mildew (*robigo*), the redness of the fox being, on homoeopathic principles, a natural remedy for the redness of mildew, while the ruddiness of the beast in its turn was powerfully reinforced by the red colour and purifying virtue of the fire at its tail.[5] An entirely different explanation has been suggested by Salomon Reinach. He thinks it possible that the foxes with the

[1] *Geoponica*, xiii. 5. For more examples of such devices for ridding fields of vermin see *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 275-281.

[2] *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 424 *sqq.*

[3] J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1852–1857), ii. 388; W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 515.

[4] A. van Gennep, "La Saint-Jean dans les Croyances et Coutumes populaires de la Savoie", *Journal de Psychologie*, xxvii. (1927) p. 29, quoting *Sabaudia*, i. (1873) p. 269.

[5] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 43 *sq.*; S. Eitrem, "Some Roman Festivals, Expiatory and Purificatory", *Festskrift til Alf Torp* (Kristiania, 1913), pp. 75 *sq.* (offprint presented by the author); Pfister, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Zweite Reihe, i. 1, col. 950, *s.v.* "Robigalia".

lighted torches at their tails may have been allowed to burn a few patches of the growing corn, and that this sacrifice of a part of the harvest may have been regarded as ensuring the remainder of the crop against the risk of being burnt up by excessive heat in the ensuing summer.[1] These explanations appear on the whole less probable than the one I have suggested.

The resemblance of the custom here described by Ovid to the trick which Samson is said to have played on the Philistines[2] has often been noted. The story of the trick may very well have originated in a custom like that of Carseoli and explicable in the same way. We know on the authority of King Solomon himself that in Palestine foxes spoiled the vines, and that for that reason the wise monarch desired to catch them.[3] It is likely enough, therefore, that foxes were as injurious to the corn as to the vines, and Israelitish farmers may very well have resorted to the same measures as Italian farmers for ridding their fields of the vermin.

IV. 682. **The land of Carseoli is cold and not suited for the growth of olives.**—Carseoli was a Latin town in the country of the Aequiculi,[4] situated on the Valerian road, which led from Rome to Corfinium, the capital of the Paelignians.[5] If it did not produce olives, it produced vines of a sort, for Pliny found fault with the mode of pruning the vines which was in vogue thereabout.[6]

IV. 685. **By it I journeyed on my way to the Paelignian land, my native country.**—Ovid was born at Sulmo, in the country of the Paelignians, distant ninety miles from Rome. He often, as here, refers to the abundance of running water in his native dale.[7]

IV. 709. **to this day a certain law of Carseoli forbids to name a fox.**—The text is here very uncertain, and various emendations have been proposed which are recorded in the

[1] Salomon Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, iv. (Paris, 1912) pp. 158, 159.

[2] Judges xv. 4-6.

[3] Song of Solomon ii. 15.

[4] Livy, x. 13. 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 106.

[5] Strabo, v. 3. 11, p. 238.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvii. 213.

[7] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 3 *sq.* 1, *Amores*, iii. 15. 11-14. See above, p. 187, note on *Fasti*, iv. 81.

Critical Note. The reading *dicere*, which I have adopted, has manuscript authority. A very widespread superstition forbids the mentioning of dangerous animals by their proper names for fear of attracting their unwelcome attention. The custom is by no means confined to Europe, but is reported in similar forms from many parts of Asia, Africa, and America. Among the animals whose proper names are thus tabooed are naturally such fierce and dangerous creatures as wolves, bears, lions, tigers, and snakes. When it is absolutely necessary to refer to the dreaded beast, it is done in veiled language, by a circumlocution, or by the use of an entirely different name, such as a descriptive epithet, the speaker apparently assuming that the animal will not understand the allusion and so will not come to attack or otherwise molest him.[1] Now among the animals whose names are sometimes thus tabooed in Europe is the fox. For example, in some parts of Bavaria the farmer will not mention a fox by its proper name, lest his poultry-yard should suffer from the depredations of the brute. So instead of fox (*fuchs*) he calls the beast *Loinl*, *Henoloinl*, *Henading*, or *Henabou*.[2] At Quatzow, near Mirow in Mecklenburg, down at least to the first half of the nineteenth century, it was strictly forbidden to mention many animals by their right names in the Twelve Days from Christmas to Epiphany. A fox might not be called a fox, but only "long-tail"; a mouse might not be called a mouse, but only a "leg-runner"; and so forth. Anybody who broke the rule had to pay a fine, which was used to buy drink for the rest of the company.[3] Again, it is a popular Swedish belief that certain animals should not be mentioned by their proper names, but must always be signified by substituted terms. Thus the fox should be called "blue-foot" or "he that goes in the forest"; rats are called "the long-bodied", mice "the small grey", and so forth.[4] Again,

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 392 *sqq.*

[2] *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, ii. (München, 1863) p. 304.

[3] A. Kuhn und W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* (Leipzig, 1848), p. 411, No. 162; K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg* (Wien, 1879–1880), ii. 246, No. 1274.

[4] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* (London, 1851–1852), ii. 83 *sq.*; L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden* (London, 1870), p. 251.

Finnish hunters think that they will have very poor sport if they call the animals by their proper names; the beasts are supposed to resent it. Hence the fox and the hare are only spoken of as "game", and the lynx is termed "the forest cat", lest it should devour the sheep.[1] It is possible that at Carseoli the name of the fox was similarly banned from motives of superstitious fear. At Rome the Flamen Dialis himself was not allowed to pronounce the name of a harmless she-goat.[2] What wonder if farmers were afraid to utter the name of the mischievous fox in the glens of the Apennines?

In the year 101 B.C. it happened that a slave of Quintus Servilius Caepio mutilated himself in honour of Cybele, the Idaean Mother. The deed was deemed a portent which defiled the city. So to expiate it the culprit was banished beyond the sea and forbidden ever to return to Rome; and the city was purified by means of a she-goat with burning horns, which was led through the streets and then driven out through the Naevian Gate.[3] This use of a scapegoat with burning horns suggests that the foxes with burning tails in the city, if not in the country, may have been in like manner supposed to purify the ground over which they carried the fire.

IV. 713. **When next day Memnon's saffron-robed mother on her rosy steeds shall come to view the far-spread lands, the sun departs from the sign of the leader of the woolly flock.**— This is a poetical way of saying that next day the sun passes from the sign of the Ram (Aries) into the sign of the Bull (Taurus), though the poet leaves the sex of the latter animal in doubt; for all he knew, it might be a cow as well as a bull. "Memnon's saffron-robed mother" is Aurora, the goddess of Dawn.[4] In a Vedic hymn to Dawn the steeds of her chariot are not rosy but purple:

[1] Varonen, reported by Hon. J. Abercromby in *Folk-lore*, ii. (1891) pp. 245 *sq.*

[2] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 12.

[3] Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 44 a, pp. 166 *sq.* ed. Rossbach. As to the Naevian Gate (*Porta Naevia*) see Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 163; Livy, ii. 11. 9; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 49, who says that the gate was probably "between S. Saba and the baths of Caracalla".

[4] Hesiod, *Theog.* 984 *sq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 4.

"*In the sky's borders hath she shone in splendour: the goddess hath thrown off the veil of darkness.*
Awakening the world with purple horses, on her well-harnessed chariot Dawn approaches." [1]

IV. 715. **the ram which betrayed Helle.**—The traitorous ram was the ram with the Golden Fleece, from whose back Helle slipped and was drowned in the arm of the sea which was hence called after her. The ram was afterwards transformed into the constellation which still bears its name. Ovid has already told the tale.[2]

IV. 719. **But whether the sign be a bull or a cow, it enjoys this reward of Love against the will of Juno.**—The constellation of the Bull (Taurus) was commonly believed to be the bull which carried Jupiter's light-o'-love Europa from Phoenicia, and which in gratitude for this service the divine lover converted into a constellation. Others, however, thought that the constellation was the white cow into which Jupiter had turned another of his lady-loves, the Argive Io.[3] Ovid tells the story of the bull in another part of the present work, and there, as here, he holds the balance even between the bull and the cow,[4] judiciously observing in the present passage that, since the hinder quarters of the animal were invisible in the sky, its sex must remain doubtful. But whether the animal was a bull or a cow made little difference to Juno, who in either case was painfully reminded by it of her husband's infidelity.

IV. 721. **I am called upon to sing of the Parilia, and not in vain shall be the call, if kindly Pales favours me.**—The festival of the Parilia on the twenty-first of April is marked PAR in the Caeretan, Maffeian, and Praenestine calendars.[5] The name is derived from that of the divinity Pales, in whose honour the festival was celebrated. Hence the more correct, though less usual, form of the name of the festival was Palilia.[6] The derivation of the name from

[1] *Rig-veda*, i. 113 (*Hymns of the Rigveda*, translated with a popular commentary by R. T. Griffith, vol. i. pp. 195-198).
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 851-876.
[3] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 14; Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 21.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 603-620, with the note on 619.
[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 213, 224, 236, 315.
[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 15; Festus, *s.v.* "Pales", p. 248 ed. Lindsay, "*Pales dicebatur dea pastorum, cuius festa Palilia dicebantur; vel, ut alii*

parere, "to bring forth", though it has ancient authority,[1] seems less probable, unless we suppose, with Mommsen, that the original form of the name of the deity was Pares.[2] Ovid treats Pales as a goddess, and so did Festus, Virgil, Tibullus, the author of the *Culex*, Florus, and Probus.[3] But according to others, including Varro, Pales was male,[4] and as a male he is noticed by Arnobius[5] and Martianus Capella.[6] In 267 B.C. a temple was vowed to Pales by the consul M. Atilius Regulus, for a victory which won for Rome the important harbour of Brundusium.[7] But as to the situation and history of the temple we know nothing. Connected with Pales was probably the goddess Palatua, the guardian of the Palatine hill, whose worship was conducted by a special flamen of her own (*flamen Palatualis*),[8] and must, therefore, have been of great antiquity, since none but genuine old Roman deities could boast of the services of a flamen. At the festival of the Septimontium or the Seven Hills a sacrifice called *Palatuar* was offered to her.[9] If Pales was originally a male deity, Palatua may have been his female counterpart or wife.

As Ovid relates a little further on (lines 807 *sqq.*), the festival of the Parilia or Palilia was believed to be older than the foundation of Rome,[10] and it was supposed that the first foundations of the city were laid on the very day of the festival, so that the twenty-first of April was hence-

---

volunt, dicta Parilia, quod pro partu pecoris eidem sacra fiebant"; Servius and Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 1.

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Pales", p. 248 ed. Lindsay (see the preceding note). Solinus (i. 19) and Polemius Silvius (in *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 263, 315) also derive *Parilia* from *parere*, but with reference to the birth of Romulus ("*de partu Iliae*") instead of the birth of cattle.

[2] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 315 *sq.*

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Pales", p. 248 ed. Lindsay; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 1 and 294; Tibullus, i. 1. 36; *Culex*, 20, "*Et tu, sancta Pales*"; Florus, i. 15. 20, "Pastoria Pales"; Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 1.

[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 1.

[5] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 40.

[6] Martianus Capella, i. 50, "*Iovis filii Pales et Favor*".

[7] Florus, i. 15. 20.

[8] Festus, *s.v.* "Palatualis flamen", pp. 284, 285 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 45.

[9] Festus, *s.v.* "Septimontio", pp. 474, 476 ed. Lindsay.

[10] So Plutarch observes (*Romulus*, 12. 1) that "even before the foundation (of Rome) they had a pastoral festival on that day and called it the Parilia".

forth celebrated as the birthday of Rome.[1] The day is so marked (*Natalis urbis Romae*) in the calendars of Polemius Silvius and Philocalus ;[2] and in the Caeretan calendar under the twenty-first of April there is the note : "Rome founded ".[3] The day was naturally a popular holiday, especially for the young.[4] Athenaeus describes how a learned discussion was suddenly interrupted by a great uproar, in which the shrill music of fifes, the clash of cymbals, and the rub-a-dub of drums were blent with singing into a confused hubbub of sound ; it was the people in the street rejoicing at the coming of the Parilia, though by that time, in the third century A.D., the old name Parilia had been changed to Romaea, that is, the Roman Festival, on account of its association with the birth of Rome.[5] It was not lawful to sacrifice any animal at the Parilia ; no blood might be shed on that happy day.[6] A learned mathematician, Lucius Tarutius (or Taruntius), Firmanus, a friend of Cicero and versed in the lore of the Chaldeans, calculated not only the day but the very hour of the foundation of Rome, and found that it fell on the twenty-first day of April, between the second and third hour, when Jupiter was in the sign of the Fish ; when Saturn, Venus, Mars, and Mercury were in the sign of the Scorpion ; when the sun was in the sign of the Bull, and the moon was in the sign of the Balance.[7] Numa is said to have been born, by some divine chance, on the very day on which Rome was founded.[8]

[1] Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 47. 98, "*Urbis etiam nostrae natalem diem repetebat ab iis Parilibus quibus eam a Romulo conditam accepimus*" ; Zonaras, vii. 3, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἑορτάζουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι, γενέθλιον τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 262, 263, 315.

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 213, 315, "*Roma cond(ita)* ".

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Parilibus ", pp. 272, 273 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Athenaeus, viii. 63, p. 361 e-f.

[6] Solinus, i. 19 ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 12. 1.

[7] Solinus, i. 18 ; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, i. 14, p. 8 ed. Wuensch. Compare Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 47. 98 ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 12. 3-6 ; Manilius, iv. 773-775. As to the foundation of Rome on the day of the Parilia see further Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 1. 9 ; Festus, *s.v.* "Parilibus ", p. 273 ed. Lindsay ; Propertius, v. (iv.) 4. 73 *sqq.* ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 774 *sq.* ; Velleius Paterculus, i. 8. 4 ; Eutropius, i. 1 ; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxi. 6 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 247 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 88 ; Dio Cassius, xliii. 42. 3 ; Zonaras, vii. 3.

[8] Plutarch, *Numa*, 3. 4. For modern accounts and discussions of the Parilia see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 207 *sq.* ; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, i. 413 *sqq.* ; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*

The festival was essentially a rustic rite observed by shepherds and herdsmen for the good of their flocks and herds. This is well brought out by Ovid in the following account which he gives of the ritual and the prayers that accompanied it; and the same truth was recognized by Varro and other ancient writers.[1] In eastern Europe many analogous rites have been performed down to recent times, and probably still are performed, for the same purpose, by shepherds and herdsmen on St. George's Day, the twenty-third of April, only two days after the Parilia, with which they may well be connected by descent from a common festival observed by pastoral Aryan peoples in spring. The ceremonies appear to be mainly designed to guard the flocks and herds against wolves and witches, the two great foes of whom the herdsman stands most in dread, and of the two the witches are perhaps even more dreaded than the wolves. Many peoples of eastern Europe, including the Esthonians, Russians, and Ruthenians, drive their cattle out to pasture for the first time on St. George's Day after their long confinement during the winter: on the eve of that day, witches resort to many tricks to steal the milk of the cattle; and many accordingly are the precautions which the herdsman takes to defeat their infernal machinations. Among these precautions are the kindling of bonfires at cross-roads, and the fumigating of the cattle with sulphur or *asafoetida*. Even in England it seems to have been formerly the custom to kindle bonfires on St. George's Day, as we gather from Shakespeare:[2]

> "*Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,*
> *To keep our great St. George's feast withall.*"

St. George is regarded as the patron of wolves as well as of cattle; hence it is naturally held that he can protect the flocks and herds against the ravages of wolves, his

(Berlin, 1877), pp. 309-317; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 79-84; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 199-201; *id.*, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 1276-1280, *s.v.* "Pales".

[1] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, ii. 1. 9; Festus, *s.v.* "Pales", p. 248 ed. Lindsay; Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 6; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 12. 1.

[2] Shakespeare, *First Part of Henry VI.* Act i. Scene 1.

creatures. He has probably displaced an old pastoral deity or deities, of whom Pales may have been one. Another may possibly have been Pergrubius, to whom the heathen Prussians and Lithuanians used to sacrifice on St. George's Day. He appears to have been a Lithuanian god of the spring, who caused the grass and the corn to grow and the trees to burst into leaf; however, nothing is said of his relation to cattle, and so far his analogy to St. George breaks down, though his festival fell on the saint's day.[1] In Russia St. George's Day is celebrated as a national as well as an ecclesiastical festival; and the popular songs devoted to it serve to prove, by their mythical character, "that the Christian hero, St. George, has merely taken the place of some old deity, light-bringing or thunder-compelling, who used to be honoured at this time of year in heathen days. It is not a slayer of dragons and protector of princesses who appears in these songs, but a patron of farmers and herdsmen, who preserves cattle from harm, and on whose day, therefore, the flocks and herds are, for the first time after the winter, sent out into the open fields."[2]

On the whole we seem justified in inferring the existence of an ancient pastoral festival which the people of eastern Europe, not of the Aryan stock alone, have held from time immemorial on the day towards the end of April when they drove their cattle out to pasture for the first time after their long confinement in winter quarters. On such a day the long lines of lowing herds and bleating flocks were necessarily exposed to the attacks of hungry wolves, and they were believed to be no less exposed to the more insidious, though not less dangerous, wiles of witches, who, either on the day itself or on the eve preceding it, could make their way unseen among the beasts to rob the cows and ewes of their milk. To guard the animals against this double peril, and thereby

[1] As to Pergrubius see J. Maeletius (Menecius), "De sacrificiis et idolatria veterum Borussorum Livonum aliarumque vicinarum gentium", *Mitteilungen der Litterarischen Gesellschaft Masovia*, Heft 8 (Lötzen, 1902), pp. 185, 187, 200 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, ii. (Riga and Leipzig, 1848) pp. 389, 390; J. Lasicius, "De diis Samagîtarum caeterorumque Sarmatarum", ed. W. Mannhardt, in *Magazin herausgegeben von der Lettisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, xiv. (1868) pp. 95 *sq.* According to M. Praetorius, Pergrubius was a god of husbandry (*Deliciae Prussicae*, Berlin, 1871, p. 25).

[2] W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*[2] (London, 1872), pp. 229 *sq.*

to ensure not only their safety but their productivity and multiplication, was the object of the festival, and in the light of it all the quaint features of the rites are intelligible. Of these great pastoral rites of ancient Europe, the Parilia, as described above all by Ovid in the present passage, is the first recorded example. The poet was unquestionably right in holding that the festival was older than the foundation of Rome.

How so many apparently different and widely separated peoples should have come to celebrate the festival on the same day, whether the twenty-first or the twenty-third of April, is a question which we cannot answer. The coincidence of the date suggests that the ancestors of the peoples who have observed the festival, whether they belonged to the same stock or to different stocks, must formerly have lived in contact with each other and employed a common calendar. That calendar, so far as the date of the festival in question is concerned, can hardly have been a solar one, since the twenty-first and the twenty-third of April are far removed from the crucial points in the sun's annual course, the equinoxes and the solstices. More probably the calendar was of the more primitive type which is deduced from observation, not of the heavenly bodies, but of those yearly vicissitudes of plant and animal life on earth, which are brought home to early man much more rapidly and forcibly than the slow progress of the sun and stars through the sky. A solar calendar is not the first but the last to be evolved in the history of civilization.[1]

It is perhaps worth while observing that if, as I have supposed, the date of the festival in question was determined by the day on which the cattle were driven out to pasture for the first time in spring, the choice of the twenty-first or twenty-third of April cannot have been made in Sweden, for in that northern country the spring is later, and the

[1] The evidence for the old pastoral festival of St. George in eastern Europe is collected by me in *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. chap. xix. "St. George and the Parilia", pp. 324-338. Many examples of the primitive type of calendar, which is based on the changes of plant and animal life, are adduced by Professor Martin P. Nilsson in his valuable work, *Primitive Time-reckoning* (Lund, 1920). I have collected much evidence on the subject of primitive time-reckoning in general, but it must be reserved for another work.

cattle are not driven out to their summer pastures till the middle of May or later, in some districts not till Ascension Day or even Whitsunday.[1] For a similar reason, no doubt, the Celts of Ireland and Scotland, in their milder but still northerly climate, fixed Beltane, their great pastoral festival, at a slightly later date than the Parilia, namely, on the first of May. The ritual of Beltane, as formerly observed by herdsmen in the Highlands of Scotland, presents many resemblances to the ritual of the Parilia ;[2] and it seems not wholly impossible that the Celtic and the Italian festivals have preserved, in slightly different forms, the same ancient name ; for we have seen that the more correct form of Parilia is Palilia, derived from the deity Pales, who may perhaps still lurk in the first syllable of Beltane.[3] After all the Celtic and Latin languages are closely akin.

IV. 725. **Sure it is that I have often brought with full hands the ashes of the calf and the beanstraws, chaste means of expiation.**—From this and what follows we learn that Ovid himself had often taken full part in the rites of the Parilia. Hence his description of the festival is based on personal observation and is therefore an historical document of high value for the understanding of the ritual. He explains a little lower down (lines 731-734) the reference to the beanstalks and the ashes of the calf.

IV. 727. **Sure it is that I have leaped over the flames ranged three in a row.**—The custom of leaping across the fires at the festival is described more fully by the poet a little further on.[4] The present passage seems to imply that there were three separate bonfires, and that the worshipper had to leap over all three, one after the other. The sentence might possibly mean that the poet had leaped over the fires at three different celebrations of the festival, but the order of the words is against this interpretation and in favour of the one I have adopted, which is also

[1] L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden* (London, 1870), pp. 246-251 ; A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] (Gütersloh, 1886), pp. 163-165.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 146 *sqq.* ; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 264 *sqq.* ; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), pp. 248 *sqq.*

[3] The derivation of *Beltane*, like that of *Pales*, appears to be unknown. See J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 264.

[4] *Fasti*, iv. 781 *sq.*, 805 *sq.*, with the note.

accepted by W. Mannhardt.[1] He points out rightly that at the Beltane fires, formerly kindled in the Highlands of Scotland on May Day (only ten days later than the Parilia), the person who drew the black lot (a piece of oatmeal cake blackened with charcoal) had to leap thrice through the flames for the sake of "rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast".[2] In the north-east of Scotland it was the custom to dance thrice "southwise" round the Beltane fire.[3] In Wales the custom as to the Beltane fires was similar. The person who picked up a piece of brown oatmeal cake had to leap thrice over the flames, or to run thrice between two fires; for in Wales the practice sometimes was to kindle two fires side by side. By leaping thrice over the fire or running thrice between the two fires the people thought that they made sure of a plentiful harvest.[4] The Beltane festival on May Day seems to have been essentially, like the Parilia, a herdsman's festival. A writer of the eighteenth century says that in the parish of Logierait (Perthshire) it was chiefly celebrated by cowherds, who assembled by scores in the fields for the purpose.[5]

IV. 733. **Ye people, go fetch materials for fumigation from the Virgin's altar. Vesta will give them.**—Ovid means that the materials to be used in fumigation will be supplied by the Vestal Virgins; and of these materials he mentions three, the blood of a horse, the ashes of a calf, and beanstalks. The "ashes of a calf" are explained by the ritual observed at the Fordicidia on the fifteenth of April, which the poet has already described. On that day pregnant cows were sacrificed to Earth; the unborn calves were torn from them and burned by the Senior Vestal Virgin, and the ashes kept by her to be used for the purification of

[1] W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, pp. 312 *sq.*

[2] Rev. J. Robertson, in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1791–1799), xi. 620 *sq.* As to this custom see below, note on *Fasti*, iv. 775, below, pp. 363 *sqq.*

[3] Rev. Mr. Shaw, in Thomas Pennant's "A Tour in Scotland, 1769", in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1808–1814), iii. 136.

[4] Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-lore and Folk-stories of Wales* (London, 1909), pp. 22-24.

[5] Rev. Dr. Thomas Bisset, in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, v. 84.

the people at the Parilia.[1] It is these ashes which the worshipper is now bidden to procure from Vesta, that is, from the Vestal Virgins or from the Senior member of the college The reason why the ashes of unborn calves were employed in the ritual is not hard to divine. Since a principal object of the festival, as we learn from the shepherd's prayer (lines 771-772), was to ensure the fecundity of the flock, and since the sheep were fumigated (lines 739-740) as well as the shepherds, it seems plain that the smoke from ashes of the calves was supposed to fertilize, by sympathetic magic, the ewes and doubtless the cows, though curiously enough Ovid speaks only of sheep.

The blood of the horse, which was also employed in the fumigations at the Parilia, was procured in a curious fashion. On the fifteenth of October in every year a chariot-race was run in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*) at Rome. Stabbed with a spear, the right-hand horse of the victorious team was then sacrificed to Mars for the purpose of ensuring good crops, and its head was cut off and adorned with a string of loaves. Thereupon the inhabitants of two wards—the Sacred Way and the Subura—contended with each other who should get the head. If the people of the Sacred Way got it, they fastened it to a wall of the King's House (*Regia*), which stood on the Sacred Way; if the people of the Subura got it, they fastened it to the Mamilian tower, which stood in the Suburan ward and took its name from the Mamilian family. The horse's tail was cut off and carried to the King's House with such speed that the blood dripped on the hearth of the house.[2] This blood the King caught in a vessel and kept, or handed it over to the Vestal Virgins, whose house adjoined his own, to be burned and fumigate by its smoke the sheep and shepherds at the Palilia. In this account the King is the Sacrificial King of republican times, though no doubt in the regal period it was the monarch himself who received the blood of the horse.

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 633-640.

[2] Festus, *s.vv.* "Mamilia turris", "October equus", "Octuber equus", "Panibus", pp. 117, 190, 191, 246 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 97; Polybius, xii. 4 B. Plutarch wrongly thought that the ceremony took place on the Ides (the thirteenth) of December instead of on the Ides (the fifteenth) of October.

Some of the ancients absurdly supposed that this sacrifice of a horse in October was a punishment which the Romans, as descendants of the Trojans, inflicted on horses because the Wooden Horse had introduced the enemy within the walls of Troy. On this Polybius sarcastically observed that by the same token all barbarians must be descendants of the Trojans, since all, or most, of them sacrificed a horse before making war or giving battle, and judged of the issue of the war or of the battle by the manner in which the animal fell to the ground.[1] The true meaning of the rite was perceived by W. Mannhardt and explained by him in a valuable essay.[2] The rite was intended to procure a good crop, as indeed was explicitly stated by Festus ;[3] hence the decoration of the horse's head with a string of loaves, and hence the use of its blood at the Parilia, where its smoke, like that from the ashes of the unborn calves, was probably regarded as a fertilizing agent to get the ewes and cows with young. It is true that, in its application to the blood of a horse and the ashes of calves, this conception involved a certain confusion of the processes of animal and vegetable fertilization, but such confusion is habitual, if not universal, in ancient and primitive thought.

The question why beanstalks formed the third ingredient in the fuel kindled to make a smoke at the Parilia, is less easy to answer. In antiquity beans were the subject of such a tangle of superstitions that it is seldom or never possible to single out the separate threads and follow them up to their starting-point in the muzzy brain of primitive man.[4]

IV. 737. **Deck the sheepfold with leaves and branches fastened to it; adorn the door and cover it with a long festoon.**—On St. George's Day (the twenty-third of April), which is the modern equivalent of the Parilia, South Slavonian peasants crown their cows with wreaths of flowers to guard them against the witches, who are believed to be particularly

[1] Polybius, xii. 4 B.

[2] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 156-201.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Panibus", p. 246 ed. Lindsay, "*Id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum*".

[4] I have noticed some of these superstitions in a note on Pausanias, viii. 15. 4 (vol. iv. pp. 240 *sq.*). Compare note on *Fasti*, v. 421 (Vol. IV. pp. 38 *sqq.*).

active and mischievous on that day; in the evening the wreaths are taken from the cows and fastened to the door of the cattle-stall, where they remain throughout the year till the next St. George's Day. A cow which is not thus guarded by a flowery chaplet is deemed to be given over to the witches; and a herdsman who fails to crown his cows is scolded or beaten by his master.[1] Also old women cut thistles on the eve or the morning of St. George's Day and fasten them to the doors of the farmhouse as a protection against witches.[2] Another time when witches are thought to be very busy stealing the milk of cows or sucking it from their udders is Walpurgis Night, that is, the night of the thirtieth of April, the Eve of May Day. To keep them at bay it has been a common custom in many parts of Europe, including Ireland, Scotland, the Isle of Man, Silesia, and Bohemia, to protect houses and cattle-stalls against the entrance of the uncanny crew by hanging branches of mountain-ash, hawthorn, or buckthorn over the doors.[3] It is probable that the custom here described by Ovid was practised from a similar motive; the harm (*noxa*) of which he speaks (line 748) may well have been witchcraft; in another passage Ovid uses the same word in the same sense.[4]

IV. 739. **Make blue smoke with pure sulphur, and let the sheep, touched with the smoking sulphur, bleat.** — Sulphur was often employed by the ancients in ceremonies of purification. When Ulysses had slaughtered the suitors in his house, and hanged the faithless handmaidens in a row, he purified the house with fire and sulphur.[5] And after the infant Hercules had strangled the serpents that would have killed him in his cradle, Theocritus tells how the house was cleansed by burning pure sulphur in it, and by sprinkling water, mixed with salt, about it from a wreathed bough.[6] Again, when his love Delia lay, as he thought, a-dying, Tibullus won her back to life by carrying pure sulphur aglow round the bed of sickness, while a beldame chanted

[1] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven* (Münster i. W., 1890), p. 125.

[2] F. S. Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 126.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 52-55.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 130.

[5] Homer, *Od.* xxii. 481-494.

[6] Theocritus, xxiv. 96-98.

a magic spell.[1] Both Theocritus and Tibullus apply the epithet "pure" to sulphur in this connexion with reference to its cleansing property, which supports the reading "pure" in the present passage of Ovid; some manuscripts substitute the epithet "living". See the Critical Note. The use of burning sulphur in the religious purification of houses was recognized by Pliny.[2]

On St. George's Day (the twenty-third of April), which is, as we have seen, the modern equivalent of the Parilia, some of the Esthonians fumigate their cattle with sulphur or *asafoetida* to protect them against witchcraft;[3] and on the same day or on the preceding evening they collect wolf's dung, burn it, and fumigate the cattle with the smoke in order to protect them against the attacks of wolves.[4] Here again the two great preoccupations of the herdsman at this critical season are witchcraft and wolves. So, again, among the Southern Slavs, on St. George's morning, when the herdsman drives the cows from the byres, the housewife takes salt in one hand and a potsherd with glowing coals in the other. She offers the salt to each cow, and the beast must step over the glowing coals, on which various sorts of roses are smoking. That deprives the witch of all power to harm the cow.[5]

IV. 741. **Burn wood of male olives and pine and savines.**— Instead of "wood of male olives" we should perhaps read "rosemary". See the Critical Note. Ovid has already alluded to the burning of savines for the purpose of fumigation in the time before frankincense was imported from the East.[6] The ancients were aware of the distinction between the sexes of plants; they were acquainted with the artificial fertilization of the fig and the palm.[7] The distinction has not escaped some savages. We are told that the Maoris "are acquainted with the sex of trees, etc., and have distinct

[1] Tibullus, i. 5. 9-12.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 177.

[3] F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Ehsten* (St. Petersburg, 1876), p. 359.

[4] J. W. Boecler und F. R. Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 84; F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Ehsten*, p. 357.

[5] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 126.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 343, with the note.

[7] See above, note on *Fasti*, ii. 267 (Vol. II. pp. 344, 353 *sq.*).

names for the male and female of some trees ".[1] The Thonga of South-East Africa know well the difference between males and females of the tree which they call *nkanye*, and which the English call the Kafir plum (*Sclerocarya caffra*). It bears fruit of the size of a greengage and of a beautiful golden yellow colour. The male tree bears bunches of flowers, but the female has only single flowers. So the natives cut down the male trees, but keep a few of them in each district to fecundate the females.[2]

IV. 742. **and let the singed laurel crackle in the midst of the hearth.**—The laurel was specially used by the ancients in fumigations and other purificatory rites.[3] Apollo's priestess at Delphi used to burn laurel and barley flour before she descended into the oracular vault to prophesy.[4] Tibullus says: "Let the kindled laurel bough crackle loud in the holy flames as an omen that the year will be happy and holy. When the laurel has given good signs, rejoice, ye husbandmen: Ceres will fill your barns full to bursting with ears of corn."[5] The witch in Theocritus burned laurel in order that, as it crackled in the flames, her lover might in like manner burn with love for her.[6]

IV. 743. **and let a basket of millet accompany cakes of millet.**—Cakes made of beans and ground millet, moistened with mead, were offered to the gods at the time when the grapes were trodden in the winepress.[7] But that must have been an autumn offering.

IV. 745. **Add viands and a pail of milk, such as she loves; and when the viands have been cut up, pray to sylvan Pales, offering warm milk to her.**—With these offerings and the prayer that accompanied them we may compare the ritual which herdsmen in the Highlands of Scotland used

[1] Elsdon Best, "Maori Nomenclature", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 197.

[2] Henri A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*[2] (London, 1927), i. 397.

[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 329; compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 138, "*Eadem* (*laurus*) *purificationibus adhibetur*".

[4] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 6; compare *id.*, *De E apud Delphos*, 2.

[5] Tibullus, ii. 5. 81-84.

[6] Theocritus, ii. 23-26. Ample evidence of the use of the laurel in religious rites is collected by C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 365 *sqq.*

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Suffimenta", pp. 472, 473 ed. Lindsay.

to observe, and the prayers which they used to utter at Beltane, the festival which is the Celtic analogue of the Italian Parilia. Thomas Pennant, who travelled in the Highlands in 1769, describes as follows the ceremony of Beltane or Bel-tien, as he calls it. "On the first of May, the herdsmen of every village hold their Bel-tien, a rural sacrifice. They cut a square trench on the ground, leaving the turf in the middle; on that they make a fire of wood, on which they dress a large caudle of eggs, butter, oatmeal and milk; and bring besides the ingredients of the caudle, plenty of beer and whisky; for each of the company must contribute something. The rites begin with spilling some of the caudle on the ground, by way of libation: on that every one takes a cake of oatmeal, upon which are raised nine square knobs, each dedicated to some particular being, the supposed preserver of their flocks and herds, or to some particular animal, the real destroyer of them: each person then turns his face to the fire, breaks off a knob, and flinging it over his shoulders, says, 'This I give to thee, preserve thou my horses; this to thee, preserve thou my sheep; and so on.' After that, they use the same ceremony to the noxious animals: 'This I give to thee, O fox! spare thou my lambs; this to thee, O hooded crow! this to thee, O eagle!' When the ceremony is over, they dine on the caudle; and after the feast is finished, what is left is hid by two persons deputed for that purpose; but on the next Sunday they re-assemble, and finish the reliques of the first entertainment." [1]

In this account of the Beltane festival the spilling of the caudle (composed partly of milk) on the ground answers to the offering of milk to Pales, and the Highland herdsman's prayer to the being who preserved his flocks and herds corresponds to the prayer which the Italian shepherd addressed to Pales, as we learn from the following verses of Ovid. Tibullus tells us that it was his wont to purify his shepherd every year and to sprinkle Pales with milk,[2] referring no doubt to the libation of milk to the goddess at the Parilia. Perhaps Ovid's expression, "when the viands have been cut up", is explained by the

[1] Thomas Pennant, "A Tour in Scotland, 1769", in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. 49.

[2] Tibullus, i. 1. 35 *sq.*

Beltane custom, described by Pennant, of breaking a cake of oatmeal in pieces and throwing the bits over the shoulder as offerings to the preservers or destroyers of the flocks and herds. Among the viands so cut up at the Parilia were no doubt included the millet cakes mentioned by Ovid in a previous line. These the Italian shepherd, like the Highland herdsman, may have broken and thrown over his shoulder as an offering to Pales. Certainly the cakes were an important feature of the festival; for the shepherd ends his prayer with a promise that next year he "will make great cakes for Pales, the shepherds' mistress" (lines 775-776). The oatmeal cakes with nine knobs offered by Highland herdsmen at Beltane remind us of the cakes with twelve knobs which the Athenians, or some of them, sacrificed in different months to Apollo and Artemis, Zeus the Farmer (*Zeus Georgos*), Poseidon, Cronus, Hercules, and Theios, whoever Theios may have been.[1]

IV. 749. **If I have fed my sheep on holy ground . . . and my sheep unwittingly have browsed on graves.** — This of course would be a serious offence against the gods or the spirits of the dead. In the island of Chios, if any herdsman or shepherd drove his cows, his sheep, or his swine to pasture in a sacred grove, the first person who witnessed the trespass was bound to denounce the trespasser to the magistrates called the kings, under pain of incurring the anger of the god and of having to pay a fine to the offended deity; and the guilty herdsman, or shepherd, or swineherd had to pay a fine of so much a head for each beast that had trespassed, if he would escape the divine wrath.[2] Horace represents Juno, the implacable foe of Troy, expressing a wish that cattle may long continue to trample on the dishonoured graves of Priam and Paris.[3]

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, iii. No. 77; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 692; I. de Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, i. No. 3, pp. 7 *sq.*; E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, ii. (Cambridge, 1905) No. 142, pp. 387 *sq.* The sacrifices recorded in this inscription may be those of a private religious society or possibly of a country district. See I. de Prott, *op. cit.* i. pp. 12 *sq.*

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* [3], No. 986; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 707; I. de Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii. No. 111, pp. 293 *sq.*

[3] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3. 40 *sqq.*

IV. 751. **if I have entered a forbidden grove . . . if my pruning-knife has robbed a sacred copse of a shady bough, to fill a basket with leaves for a sick sheep, pardon my fault.**—To trespass on a sacred grove and break a bough in it has always been deemed a very serious offence by people who believe that the trees of the grove are animated by powerful and dangerous spirits. Hence legal punishments were often inflicted on such sacrilegious trespassers. For example, in Attica there was a sanctuary of Erithasean Apollo, and it was enacted by law that any person caught in the act of cutting trees in it, or carrying away timber, firewood, or fallen leaves, should be punished with fifty stripes, if he was a slave, or with a fine of fifty drachms, if he was a freeman. The culprit was denounced by the priest to the king,[1] that is, to the sacred official who bore the royal title in republican Athens, having succeeded to the religious duties of the ancient kings, like the Sacrificial King at Rome. Similarly it was the duty of the Sacred Men at Andania in Messenia to scourge slaves and fine freemen who cut wood in the grove of the Two Goddesses.[2] The trees in the grove were mostly cypresses.[3] In Crete it was forbidden, under pain of curses and fines, to fell timber, sow corn and herd or fold flocks within the precinct of Dictaean Zeus.[4] In Italy the sanctity of groves was similarly protected by the law. Near Spoletium there was a sacred grove from which nothing might be taken, and in which no wood might be cut except just so much as was needed for the annual sacrifice. Any person who wittingly infringed the sanctity of the grove had to atone for his offence by sacrificing an ox to Jupiter, and to pay besides a fine of three hundred pence.[5] In his treatise on

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 984; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 686; E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, ii. No. 139.

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 736, lines 78 *sqq.* (vol. ii. p. 408); Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 694, p. 600; I. de Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii. No. 58, p. 172. As to the sacred grove at Andania see Pausanias, iv. 33. 4 *sq.*

[3] Pausanias, iv. 34. 4.

[4] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 685, lines 80 *sqq.* (vol. ii. p. 278).

[5] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4911.

husbandry Cato directs that before thinning a grove the Roman husbandman should offer a pig as an expiatory sacrifice to the god or goddess of the place, and should beseech his or her favour for himself, his children, and his household.[1]

Similar respect for sacred groves is world-wide. For example, not far from Idua Oronn, in Southern Nigeria, there is a sacred grove of Abang 'Ndak, where no branch may be cut nor leaf plucked under pain of death. It was formerly a sanctuary for runaway slaves and murderers.[2] In the treeless steppes of Ruanda (East Central Africa) a conspicuous feature of the landscape is the occurrence of isolated clumps of tall fig-trees crowning a knoll or standing up against the sky on some mountain-ridge. Such clumps of trees mark the sites where dwelt kings of old, and where perhaps their bodies are buried. After the death of a king his royal residence is deserted, and only the fig-trees, which formed the fence of the kraal, now mark the spot. The whole place is sacred: the abandoned fig-trees flourish luxuriantly, but no one may touch them, much less cut one of their branches, for the people fear to offend the ghost of the dead king, who haunts the grove. Under the trees all kinds of beasts live unmolested, and among them is a serpent, in which, as well as in the trees, the king's spirit is supposed to dwell. From time to time the priest of the district comes to the grove and offers food and milk to the royal ghost incarnate in the serpent.[3] Here the sanctity of the grove is due to the presence of the king's ghost rather than of a tree-spirit, but the effect in practice is the same.

When the Bobo of the French Sudan are clearing a patch in the forest for cultivation by burning down the trees, it sometimes happens that a sacred tree catches fire by accident. When this occurs, the cultivator takes a strip of cotton, a she-goat, and some unfermented beer, and hastens to the burning tree. There he sacrifices the

[1] Cato, *De agricultura*, 139.

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 258.

[3] J. J. M. van der Burgt, *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi* (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), p. 77; Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 137.

goat and ties the strip of cotton round the trunk of the tree. This is supposed to give the defunct tree a decent funeral and to keep the cultivator himself in good health. If he did not thus expiate the sacrilege, it would go ill with him. And when he is sowing the land which he has thus reclaimed from the forest, he prays to the sacred tree which he accidentally burned, and repairs to the field with a strip of cotton, a calabash of beer, a she-goat, and a porridge of millet and milk, like the offering of the Italian shepherd to Pales at the Parilia. Arrived at the tree or its charred stump, he apologizes for the deplorable mistake he had made in setting fire to it, stating that when he did so he was not aware of its holiness but had subsequently been apprised of it by the diviner. He pours out a libation of beer, ties the strip of cotton to the trunk of the tree, and sacrifices the goat. Then retiring with his friends to a corner of the field, he cooks the flesh, bakes a cake, and prepares the porridge of millet and milk. These victuals he afterwards presents to the tree, telling it that he has brought the porridge for the tree's wife; and that when the tree's little child cries, he (the tree) may give it the milk to quiet it; but that if the infant should continue to blubber, he (the tree) may give the child the cake also to devour. Having thus fully discharged his obligations to the tree or trees which have been injured by the fire, he rejoins his friends; together they consume the victuals, and so return home with their consciences at rest.[1]

This expiation for injury inflicted on a sacred tree is instructive because it shows how fully the tree is conceived as a personal being with wife and child and appetites like those of human beings. When one of these sacred trees dies a natural death of old age, the Bobos observe a grand funeral for it during three days, as for a person of distinction. Women who have married and live in the neighbourhood return to the village to attend the funeral, which passes off amid the usual lamentations and volleys of musketry. Bands of white cotton are tied to the trunk of the deceased tree, and payment is made in cowries to the smiths who dug the grave and to the musicians whose mournful strains lent

[1] J. Cremer, *Les Bobo, la Vie Sociale* (Paris, 1924), pp. 88-90.

solemnity to the obsequies.[1] So fully is the conception of the tree as a personal being carried out by these simple Africans.

The same conception comes out very clearly in the curious ceremonies which are observed by many peoples in many parts of the world when they are about to fell a tree for timber. They usually invite the tree-spirit to betake himself to some other place before the tree is felled, and they offer him sacrifices by way of compensation for the disturbance. For example, in the Trobriand Islands, to the east of New Guinea, when a man is about to cut down a large tree to make a canoe, he repairs with a magician to the spot. A small incision is made in the trunk of the tree, and a morsel of food or a bit of areca-nut is put in it as an offering to the wood sprite (*tokway*), while the magician prays, saying: "Come down, O wood sprites, O *Tokway*, dwellers in branches, come down! Come down, dwellers in branch forks, in branch shoots! Come down, come, eat! Go to your coral outcrop over there; crowd there, swarm there, be noisy there, scream there! Step down from our tree, old men! This is a canoe ill spoken of; this is a canoe out of which you have been shamed; this is a canoe out of which you have been expelled! At sunrise and morning, you help us in felling the canoe; this is our tree, old men, let it go and fall down!"[2]

When the wild tribes of the Davao District in Mindanao (the Philippine Islands) are obliged to fell a tree which they believe to be tenanted by a spirit, they bring an offering of betel-nut, food, and a white chicken to the tree. There the chicken is sacrificed and its blood allowed to flow on the roots of the tree. One of the elders next prays to the spirit in the tree, begging him to accept the offerings in payment for the leafy dwelling which the woodmen are about to destroy. After the lapse of two or three days they think that the spirit of the tree has had time to find a new home, so they fell the tree.[3] When the French were conducting a

[1] J. Cremer, *Les Bobo, la Mentalité Mystique* (Paris, 1927), p. 34.

[2] Br. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), pp. 126 *sq.*

[3] Fay-Cooper Cole, *Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago, U.S.A., 1913), pp. 176 *sq.* (*Field Museum of Natural History, Publication* 170).

geodetical survey in Indo-China and were compelled to cut down a tree which interrupted the field of view of their instruments, the foreman of their native Moi assistants approached the tree and addressed it to the following effect. "Spirit who hast made thy home in this tree, we worship thee and are come to claim thy mercy. The white mandarin, our relentless master, whose commands we cannot but obey, has bidden us to cut down thy habitation, a task which fills us with sadness and which we only carry out with regret. I adjure thee to depart at once from the place and seek a new dwelling-place elsewhere, and I pray thee to forget the wrong we do thee, for we are not our own masters." This harangue was accompanied by spitting and a deep obeisance.[1]

Similarly when the Palaungs of Burma are about to cut down a large tree to make a house-post, they begin by propitiating the spirit who has his home in the tree. The man who is about to fell the tree offers it a handful of cooked rice, and squatting down, with his hands palm to palm, and looking up at the tree, he says, "I wish to cut wood. O spirit dwelling in the place! please remove thyself. I shall cut down this tree to make a post for my house. Please do not blame me, O spirit!" If he did not thus propitiate the tree-spirit, the spirit might follow the post to the new house and trouble the house-builder and his family.[2] Similarly when the Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea are about to cut down a large tree inhabited by a spirit, they request the spirit to shift his quarters to some other tree or some other place, and in praying thus the woodcutter fills his mouth with water and squirts it over the tree.[3]

The Baganda of Central Africa used to think that all large trees were the abode of spirits who were friendly to men if the trees were left alone. No one ventured to fell a tree without first propitiating the tree-spirit with an offering. The offering consisted of a goat or a fowl, with some beer

[1] Henry Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People* (London, N.D.), p. 129.

[2] Mrs. Leslie Milne, *The Home of an Eastern Clan, a Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 177 *sq.*

[3] W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea* (London, 1920), p. 309; G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 65.

and possibly a few cowry-shells. The shells were tied round the trunk of the tree, the beer was poured out at the roots, and the animal, if it was killed, was killed so that the blood ran to the roots; the meat was then cooked and eaten by the man who made the offering, seated near the tree. Sometimes the goat was kept alive and allowed to roam about at will in the garden in which the tree grew.[1] Among the Banyoro, neighbours of the Baganda in Central Africa, before a tree was felled for the purpose of making a royal canoe, the king used to send a man or an ox to be offered to the tree-spirit. The victim was killed beside the tree so that the blood ran on its roots. If the victim was an animal, the flesh was cooked and eaten beside the tree by the medicine-man and the workmen who were to fell the tree and build the canoe. If the victim was a man, he was left weltering in his blood.[2]

The ceremonies observed by the Wachagga of Mount Kilimanjaro in Eastern Africa at cutting down a tree of which to make bee-hives are very extraordinary, and as they illustrate perfectly the conception of a tree as a personal being I may be allowed to quote the description of it in full:

"I may briefly describe the manner of felling a tree species called *Mringa*, which is commonly used for hive-making. This tree, which is always the private property of someone and may not be felled by him, is spoken of as 'man's sister', and its felling is treated as a giving away of a bride. The owner brings offerings of milk, beer, honey, Eleusine and beans. These he formally presents to the tree as a dower on the occasion of its marriage and takes his leave after giving his blessing as to a daughter. On the following day the tree is felled, the owner leaves his village and is represented by a relative delegated to 'hand over the sister'. The men who are about to fell the tree give him a calabash of beer, asking for his sister. Having drunk of this and poured the remainder on the stem, the relative now addresses the tree as follows: 'My departing child, I have drunk of the beer, I have received my gift for you. I give you now to your lawful husband as you were

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 317, 386.
[2] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 79 *sq.*

informed of by your father yesterday. You shall be a help to your husband, go cultivate and acquire cattle and small stock. Go and let yourself not become lean. Cultivate for your father as he cultivated for you, so that you grew up. He led water to you and watered you, and now you are grown. Have fortune, my child. Your face shine, it shall be desired by all bees; they shall come and yearn for you.' With these words he departs and the felling commences. For this purpose two axes are used, one for the initial stroke and the other for the actual work. As they do so they speak comforting words to the tree as to a girl who is carried away from her home, reminding her that all is done by her father's wish. Now the tree is addressed as the enticer of bees. The first axe is laid on the tree by the leader, who asks pardon for what he does, representing that poverty has driven him thereto. Next he implores the tree to bring him good fortune and exhorts the bees of such and such strangers to leave their home and come to his hive, adding not a few unkindly wishes against the same bee-keepers. Now the place where the chopping is to start is smeared with *kimomo*, a concoction intended to attract the bees. The stem when felled is marked with *kimomo* into sections suitable for conversion into hives. This ritual is performed by each one of the group in respect to one tree so that each has a prior claim to one of the trees felled.

"While they are busying themselves with the fallen tree, the owner makes his appearance, wailing his regrets that he came too late to prevent the deed and exclaiming that his daughter has been robbed. The others endeavour to soothe him, representing that it is all for his daughter's best and appealing to him with outstretched hands, until he finally consents to grasp them and be reconciled. One or two of the hives made from the tree are given to the owner." [1]

[1] Hon. Charles Dundas, Senior Commissioner, Tanganyika Territory, *Kilimanjaro and its People* (London, 1924), pp. 275-276. For a full discussion of the ritual of bee-keeping among the Wachagga the writer refers to B. Gutmann in *Archiv für Anthropologie*. For more evidence of ceremonies observed at the felling of trees see Ch. Gilhodes, "Mort et Funérailles chez les Katchins (Birmanie)," *Anthropos*, xii.-xiii. (1917–1918) p. 430; A. et G.

In the present passage of Ovid the shepherd excuses himself for cutting a bough in a sacred grove by alleging that he did it in order to fill a basket with leaves for a sick sheep. On this Paley observes that "in countries where grass is less plentiful than with us, sheep, goats, and cattle are still fed in great measure on the foliage and succulent twigs of trees," and he refers to the evidence of Hesiod, Theocritus, and Virgil,[1] adding that "the excuse for trespassing in this case is that a sheep was sick, and ordinary food would not suffice for it." The basket (*fiscina*) mentioned by the poet must have been of a large size, since Pliny says that to fill four of them with leaves in one day was reckoned a good day's work.[2]

IV. 761. **May we not see the Dryads, nor Diana's baths, nor Faunus, when he lies on the fields at noon.**—The Greek shepherds feared to pipe at noon lest they should wake Pan, who was thought to be then slumbering, weary with the chase.[3] At the sultry hour of noon the Satyrs and the Naiads were supposed to dance and disport themselves in the water, undisturbed by the presence of human kind.[4] Near Marseilles there was a holy Druidical grove which the Druid himself dared not enter at midday or at midnight for fear of catching unawares the divine Master of the Grove.[5] According to Porphyry, curtains were drawn in the temples at noon and people were not allowed to enter the sanctuaries at that hour,[6] presumably lest they should disturb the deities in the holy place. It was at the hour of noon, under the scorching glare of an African sun, that the Libyan nymphs appeared to Jason, and at the sight he averted his eyes.[7] It was at noon, when the noontide quiet held all the hill, that the luckless Tiresias came on

---

Grandidier, "La Religion des Malgaches", *L'Anthropologie*, xxviii. (1917) p. 124; P. te Wechtel, "Erinnerungen aus den Ost- und West-Dusun-ländern, (Borneo)," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xxii. (1914) p. 57; *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 18-20, 34 *sqq.*

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 606 *sq.*; Theocritus, xi. 73: Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 434 *sq.*, *Ecl.* x. 30.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 314.

[3] Theocritus, i. 15 *sqq.*

[4] Ausonius, *Mosella*, 178-185.

[5] Lucan, iii. 423-425.

[6] Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, 26.

[7] Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1309-1316.

the goddess Athena as she was bathing in the fair-flowing fountain of Hippocrene on Mount Helicon, and he saw what it was not lawful for man to see, and the goddess blinded him for his sacrilegious intrusion.[1] So, too, it was at noon when the hunter Actaeon surprised Diana bathing, and the goddess avenged the outrage by causing the huntsman to be torn in pieces by his hounds.[2] It is to this bath of Diana that Ovid alludes in the present passage. Yet, according to Propertius, in the simple days of old it was no sin to see goddesses unclad.[3]

In modern Greece the peasants still believe that the Nereid nymphs exert a baleful influence on men at the hour of noon, especially in summer, and that it is most dangerous at such a time to linger near a well, a spring, a river, or indeed any water, or to rest in the shadow of trees, particularly plane-trees, poplars, fig-trees, and nut-trees, for at that hour the nymphs love to haunt these places, and if they catch a luckless wight spying on them they "possess" him, that is, they strike him so that he falls sick in body or mind. A melancholy case of this sort happened, for instance, in the island of Zacynthus. A peasant, a man in perfect health, was going home at noon. His way led past a lonely well, and there in an evil hour, being tired, he lay down on the grass and fell asleep. While he slept, the Nereid nymphs rose from the water of the well, and set on him. When he awoke he could neither walk nor speak, and it was only with difficulty that he at last dragged himself to his village. But the poor fellow was a gibbering idiot to the end of his days.[4]

Such beliefs are not confined to Europe. Surinam, in South America, is supposed to be haunted by a host of good and evil spirits, who are commonly known by the name of *bribi*. Under ordinary conditions they are invisible to mortal eyes, yet they environ mankind, dwelling in mountains, trees, wells, and caves, often, too, in the bodies of animals. They leave their abodes not only by night but also by day, at the stroke of noon. Hence it is very

[1] Callimachus, *Hymns*, V. *The Bath of Pallas*, 70-82.
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 143-252.
[3] Propertius, iv. (iii.) 13. 38.
[4] B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 119 *sq.*

dangerous to stand under a thick-leaved tree or elsewhere at that hour. For if a spirit finds a body, he creeps into it and can only be expelled from it by a certain definite procedure. In general these spirits, if they are not molested, let human beings alone; but if they are disturbed, as by the drawing of water at an untimely hour, by the utterance of a forbidden name, or by the cutting down of a tree, they avenge themselves by entering into the body of the offender, who falls sick.[1]

IV. 763. **Drive far away diseases: may men and beasts be hale.**—So in the prayer which Cato prescribes for use at the purification of a farm by the sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, the farmer prays, saying, "Father Mars, I pray and beseech thee that thou be kind and gracious to me, to my house and my household, for the sake of which I have ordered the sow, sheep, and bull to be carried about my field, land, and estate, that thou mayest ward off diseases seen and unseen . . . , that thou mayest keep safe shepherds and sheep, and that thou mayest give good health and strength to me, to my house and household".[2]

IV. 766. **nor sigh as I bring back fleeces snatched from the wolf.**—Italian farmers in Ovid's time and long after had to reckon with wolves Tibullus begged the wolves to spare his little flock.[3] The usurer in Horace, who dreamed of retiring to the country, smacked his lips at the thought of the plain wholesome fare he should there enjoy, such as a lamb slain at the festival of the Terminalia, and a kid rescued from the maw of a wolf.[4] Inviting a friend to a homely dinner in the cool of a summer evening at Rome, when the heat of the day was over, and the guard was being relieved at the barracks, Martial sends him the bill of fare, which includes a kid torn from the jaws of a ravening wolf.[5] For the ancients believed that the flesh of animals that had been mauled by wolves tasted the sweeter. Plutarch gravely discussed the question why the flesh of such sheep should be sweeter and their fleeces lousier.[6]

[1] F. P. en A. P. Penard, "Surinaamsch Bijgeloof", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, lxvii. (1913) pp. 157 *sq.*

[2] Cato, *De agri cultura*, 141.

[3] Tibullus, i. 1. 33, ii. 5. 88.

[4] Horace, *Epod.* ii. 59-60.

[5] Martial, x. 48. 1-14.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ii. 9.

IV. 769. **Full udders may I milk; may my cheese bring me in money.**—Ovid may have been thinking of the swain in Virgil who complained that, though he made heavy cheeses for the town, he always came home with a light pocket.[1]

IV. 770. **may the sieve of wickerwork give passage to the liquid whey.**—Ovid may have had in mind a passage of Tibullus, where that poet describes a sieve or basket woven of bulrushes, where the whey from the cheese trickled through the interstices of the rushes.[2] Elsewhere our author, in a simile, describes more fully the passage of the whey through the holes of the sieve under the pressure of a superimposed weight.[3] The process of cheese-making is described by Columella. He says that "as soon as the milk has curdled, it should be transferred (from the pails) to sieves or baskets or moulds, for it is most important that the whey should percolate as soon as possible and be separated from the curdled matter. Wherefore country people do not let it trickle slowly down of itself, but when the cheese has somewhat solidified, they put weights on it to strain off the whey".[4]

IV. 775. **May my prayer be granted, and we will year by year make great cakes for Pales, the shepherds' mistress.**—From this passage, combined with one of Tibullus[5] and some fragmentary indication in the Praenestine and Esquiline calendars,[6] it has been inferred that there was an ancient pastoral year which began on the twenty-first of April.[7]

[1] Virgil, *Ecl.* i. 34 *sq.*

[2] Tibullus, ii. 3. 15-16, "*Tunc fiscella levi detexta est vimine iunci,* | *raraque per nexus est via facta sero*".

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 436-438.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, vii. 8. 3-4, "*Confestim cum concrevit liquor, in fiscellas aut in calathos vel formas transferendus est. Nam maxime refert primo quoque tempore serum percolari, et a concreta materia separari. Quam ob causam rustici nec patiuntur quidem sua sponte pigro humore defluere, sed cum paulo solidior caseus factus est, pondera superponunt, quibus exprimatur serum.*"

[5] Tibullus, ii. 5. 81 *sqq*

[6] In the Praenestine calendar, under April 21st, there is a fragmentary note which Mommsen partly restores thus: "*Qu(are autem hoc die . . . per) ignes tran(siliant) . . . principio an(ni pastoricii) . . . redigitur*". See *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 236, 315. In the Esquiline calendar, under April 21st, there is a fragmentary note which Mommsen partly restores as follows: "*Fer(iae) coro(natis omnibus principium) an(ni pastoricii.)*" See *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 210, 315.

[7] Ph. E. Huschke, *Das alte Römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), p. 23.

Certainly Tibullus speaks of the crackling of the laurel in the flames as furnishing a good omen for the whole year, including an abundant harvest; and from the context it would seem that the poet is here speaking of the Parilia, for he mentions it expressly a few lines lower down, as a pastoral festival at which shepherds leaped over burning heaps of straw. The only doubt is created by the mention, in the intervening lines, of the vintager treading the grapes in the winepress, for this can only refer to the autumn. However, the allusion to the vintage can be understood to mean that the crackling of the laurel in the fire at the Parilia prognosticated both a plentiful corn-harvest and an abundant vintage in the coming autumn. The Praenestine calendar, under the twenty-first of April, certainly appears to have mentioned "the beginning of the year", but the adjective "pastoral" applied to that year is a conjectural restoration of a lacuna.

Thus the inference of an ancient Italian pastoral year beginning on the twenty-first of April is precarious, resting on very slender evidence, but it is supported by analogy. For, as we have seen, the feast of St. George on the twenty-third of April is still a great festival for herdsmen in the east of Europe, and it may well have marked formerly the beginning of the pastoral year, when herdsmen and shepherds drove out their flocks and herds to pasture for the first time after their long winter confinement in the folds and stalls.[1] Moreover, it seems highly probable that over a great part of northern Europe, at least among the Celts, there was an ancient year observed by herdsmen, of which the two halves began on the first of May and on the first of November respectively, the first of May being the day when the cattle were first driven out to their summer pastures, and the first of November being the day when they were driven back to their winter quarters. Of the two days the first of November rather than the first of May would seem to have been the old Celtic New Year's Day.[2] The mode of

[1] See above, pp. 339 *sqq*.

[2] For the evidence I must refer the reader to *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 81-83; Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 222-226.

celebrating the Parilia, as described particularly by Ovid, so closely resembles the ceremonies observed by herdsmen at driving out their herds to pasture for the first time in spring, that we may reasonably suppose the Roman festival to belong to the same class of rites and to have originated on the same occasion, which for a people of herdsmen, living in a severe northern climate and in a country infested by dangerous animals, is one of the most important and critical of the whole year. Of the ancient ritual observed on that occasion the most perfectly preserved specimen was probably that of Beltane, which lingered in the secluded and almost savage highlands of Scotland down to less than two hundred years ago.

I have already called attention to some of the resemblances which may be traced between Beltane and the Parilia, but before quitting the subject it may be well to note one or two more. At Beltane it was customary for the herdsmen to cut a trench in the ground large enough to hold the whole company, but in the centre of the trench the sods were left uncut so as to form a table of turf. On that table they kindled a fire and dressed a great custard or caudle of eggs, butter, oatmeal, and milk, of which all the persons present afterwards partook.[1] Similarly Tibullus describes how at the Parilia "each for himself will pile high the feast and festal board, cut sods the table and cut sods the couch" (Postgate's translation).[2]

Once more, the shepherd in Ovid promises to give Pales great cakes next year if in the meantime she will grant his prayer. This promise, as I have already pointed out, marks the importance attached to cakes at the Parilia. It was the same with cakes at Beltane. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that at Beltane the cake had a serious, perhaps once tragic, significance, as we gather from the following

[1] Rev. James Robertson (Parish minister of Callander), in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1791–1799), xi. 620 *sq.*; Thomas Pennant, "Tour in Scotland, 1769", in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. 49. Pennant's description has already been quoted. See above, p. 349. Robertson speaks of "a round table", Pennant of "a square trench".

[2] Tibullus, ii. 5. 99-100, "*At sibi quisque dapes et festas extruet alte | caespitibus mensas caespitibusque torum*".

accounts, which date from the eighteenth century. "After kindling the bonfire with the *tein-eigin*[1] the company prepared their victuals. And as soon as they had finished their meal, they amused themselves a while in singing and dancing round the fire. Towards the close of the entertainment, the person who officiated as master of the feast produced a large cake baked with eggs and scalloped round the edge, called *am bonnach beal-tine—i.e.* the Beltane cake. It was divided into a number of pieces, and distributed in great form to the company. There was one particular piece which whoever got was called *cailleach beal-tine—i.e.* the Beltane *carline*, a term of great reproach. Upon his being known, part of the company laid hold of him and made a show of putting him into the fire; but the majority interposing, he was rescued. And in some places they laid him flat on the ground, making as if they would quarter him. Afterwards, he was pelted with egg-shells, and retained the odious appellation during the whole year. And while the feast was fresh in people's memory, they affected to speak of the *cailleach beal-tine* as dead."[2]

Again, after describing the cutting of "a table in the green sod, of a round figure", encircled by a trench to hold the company, the Rev. James Robertson, parish minister of Callander in the eighteenth century, proceeds as follows: "They kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of those portions all over with charcoal, until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of the cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet, is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit, is the *devoted* person who is to

[1] That is, need-fire, kindled with great ceremony by the friction of wood.

[2] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, from the MSS. of John Ramsay, Esq., of Ochtertyre, edited by Alexander Allardyce (Edinburgh and London, 1888), ii. 443

be sacrificed to *Baal*,[1] whose favour they mean to implore, in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. There is little doubt of these inhuman sacrifices having been once offered in this country, as well as in the east, although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the *devoted* person to leap three times through the flames; with which the ceremonies of this festival are closed." [2]

This graphic pretence of human sacrifice by fire at Beltane had nothing, so far as we know, to correspond to it at the ritual of the Parilia; from which we may perhaps infer that in some respects Scottish herdsmen remained more primitive in the eighteenth century of our era than Italian herdsmen in the time of Ovid.

IV. 777. **these words pronounce four times, facing the east.**—In taking omens a Roman augur seems regularly to have faced east. This follows from the statement of the augur in Livy, that in augury the right side was the south and the left side was the north,[3] for the statement implies that the augur was facing eastward. This view is confirmed by the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, speaking of Roman augury, says that the best position for taking the omens was facing eastward.[4] Again, in describing the *templum* or house of augury Isidore says that the front was to the east, the back to the west, the left to the north, and the right to the south; and he adds that in building a temple they looked due east, "in order that he who consulted the god and prayed might face true east".[5] To the

[1] The name *Beltane* was popularly, but erroneously, derived from *Baal*.—J. G. F.

[2] Rev. James Robertson, in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xi. 620 *sq*. In Wales also the Beltane fire was kindled, sometimes by the friction of oak wood, at the beginning of May, though the day might vary from the Eve of May Day to the third of May. "Round cakes of oatmeal and brown meal were split in four, and placed in a small flour-bag, and everybody present had to pick out a portion. The last bit in the bag fell to the lot of the bag-holder. Each person who chanced to pick up a piece of brown-meal cake was compelled to leap three times over the flames, or to run thrice between the two fires, by which means the people thought they were sure of a plentiful harvest." See Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-lore and Folk-stories of Wales* (London, 1909), pp. 22-24.

[3] Livy, i. 18. 7.

[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 5. 2.

[5] Isidore, *Origines*, xv. 4. 7, "*Sed et locus designatus ad orientem a contemplatione templum dicebatur. Cuius partes quatuor erant: antica ad ortum,*

same effect Servius observes that the art of augury agrees to regard the north as the left,[1] which implies that the observer faced east.

However, on the subject of the eastward posture of the Roman augur the ancient evidence is conflicting. For in Livy's description of the inauguration of King Numa it is said that the king sat on a stone facing south ;[2] and in his treatise on divination Cicero tells how the great diviner Attus Navius stood looking southward when he divined on a famous occasion.[3] A southward position of the augur is also implied by Varro when he says, in describing the *templum* or house of augury, that it was divided into four parts, the left to the east, the right to the west, the front to the south, and the back to the north ;[4] and in agreement with this Festus says that the southern quarter of the sky was called the front, and that the northern quarter of the sky was called the back.[5] Thus it would seem that in Roman augury good authority could be claimed both for the eastward and for the southward position of the augur. The subject has been discussed by Professor H. J. Rose, who concludes that the two positions belong to two different systems of augury, which were practised originally by two early Italian peoples, the *terremare* people and the Villanova respectively, of whom the *terremare* people accepted the southward position and the Villanova people accepted the eastward position. The Romans, a mixed people, inherited both systems from their primitive ancestors of the two stocks, from which resulted confusion and contradiction.[6]

---

postica ad occasum, sinistra ad septentrionem, dextra ad meridiem spectans. Unde et quando templum construebant, orientem spectabant aequinoctialem, ita ut lineae ab ortu ad occidentem missae fierent partes caeli dextra sinistra aequales ; ut qui consuleret atque precaretur rectum aspiceret orientem."

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 693, "*Sinistras autem partes septentrionales esse augurum disciplina consentit*".

[2] Livy, i. 18. 6.

[3] Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 17. 31.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 7.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Posticum", pp. 244 *sq.* ed. Lindsay.

[6] H. J. Rose, "The Inauguration of Numa", *Journal of Roman Studies*, xiii. (1923) pp. 82-90. As to the *terremare* and the Villanova peoples see *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. (Cambridge, 1924) pp. 568 *sqq.*; H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (London, 1926), pp. 26 *sqq.* The *terremare* people were in the Bronze Age; they practised agriculture, burned their dead, and

Greek augurs, it may be added, faced neither east nor south but north, as appears plainly from Hector's scornful answer to Polydamas, who would have the Trojans, in the full tide of victory, beat a retreat because an eagle appeared on the left. "You bid me", retorted Hector, "obey longwinged birds, for which I care not a jot whether they fly to the right eastward or to the left westward".[1] This implies that the birds of omen are seen by an observer facing northward.

However, in regard to the present passage of Ovid we need not necessarily suppose that the eastward attitude in prayer was a direct consequence of the eastward attitude in augury. Both may have been determined independently. It appears to have been a regular rule in Roman religion that in prayer the face should be turned to the east. This is definitely stated by Servius,[2] and it is explicitly laid down by Vitruvius as a rule to be observed in the orientation of temples. He says: "The directions which the sacred temples of the immortal gods ought to face should be so arranged that, if there is no reason to the contrary and the architect has full power, the temple and the image in the shrine should face to the west, in order that those who approach the altar to offer or to sacrifice may see to the east the image in the shrine, and that in making their vows they may behold the temple and the east, and that the images themselves may appear rising in the east to behold such as offer prayer and sacrifice."[3]

IV. 778. **and wash thy hands in living dew.**—In many parts of modern Europe it has been, and indeed still is, the practice to wash, bathe, or roll in the dew on certain mornings,

---

lived in pile-villages built on dry land; these villages, known as *terremare*, are found chiefly in northern Italy. The Villanova people were in the early Iron Age; their culture may have been developed out of that of the *terremare* folk. As to the question of the eastward or southern attitude in Roman augury compare H. Nissen, *Das Templum* (Berlin, 1869), pp. 171 *sqq.*; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 187 *sqq.*

[1] Homer, *Il.* xii. 237-240.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 172, "*Disciplinam ceremoniarum secutus est, ut Orientem spectare diceret eum qui esset precaturus*".

[3] Vitruvius, iv. 5. In this passage I read "*contueantur aedem et orientem caeli*" with H. Nissen (*Das Templum*, p. 170) instead of the senseless and ungrammatical "*contueantur eadem et orientem caelum*" which Valentine Rose and H. Müller-Strübing have printed in their text of Vitruvius.

particularly the mornings of St. George's Day (the twenty-third of April), May Day, and Midsummer Day, as a means of securing health and beauty or protection against witches, who are notoriously more than usually active and mischievous on these days of the year.[1] Of these days the feast of St. George, as we have seen, answers closely to the ancient Parilia, and on it the use of the morning dew is especially effective as a charm to protect both man and beast against witchcraft. Thus St. George's Day in Bulgaria is a day of witches; so the people rise early in the morning and wash in the dew, in order that they may remain in good health.[2] "In White-Russia it is the custom on St. George's Day to drive the cattle afield through the morning dew, and in Little-Russia and Bulgaria the young people go out early and roll themselves in it".[3] In the island of Rhodes also it is customary for people to roll themselves on the grass for good luck on St. George's Day.[4] The Ruthenians believe that witches are very busy on the eve of St. George's Day casting their spells on the cows, and they take many precautions at this time to guard the poor beasts from these baleful arts, as by fumigating them with a serpent's skin. If nevertheless a cow should actually be bewitched that night, the farmer's wife will drag a rope about in the dew on the morning of St. George's Day, chop it up small, mix the bits with salt, and scatter them in the cow's fodder. No sooner has the bewitched cow tasted of this blessed compound, than the cursed spell is broken.[5] It is possible that the Roman custom, here mentioned by Ovid, of washing the hands in living dew at the Parilia, may similarly have been designed as a precaution against witchcraft.

IV. 779. **Then mayest thou set a wooden bowl as mixer, and may quaff the snow-white milk and purple must.**—This blend of milk and must had a special name, *burranica*, derived from the red colour which the must imparted to

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 67, 333, 339; Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. p. 208.

[2] A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 337, 385.

[3] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*[2] (London, 1872), p. 231.

[4] Mary Hamilton, *Greek Saints and their Festivals* (Edinburgh and London, 1910), p. 166.

[5] R. F. Kaindl, "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi. (1892) p. 280.

the milk ;[1] for in old Latin *burrum* meant "red", which in later Latin was *rufum*.[2] The word (*sapa*) here translated "must" denotes a particular part of the new wine which was boiled down to keep it sweet. Pliny and Columella give rules for its preparation. Pliny thought that by the decoction the bulk of the new wine should be reduced to one-third ; Columella held that a reduction to one-half gave a better result, though he admitted that others reduced it to a third or even a quarter.[3]

IV. 781. **anon leap with nimble foot and straining thews across the burning heaps of crackling straw.**—Here Ovid mentions only the leaps of the worshippers across the bonfires, but a little further on he implies that the cattle also were driven through the flames and smoke.[4]

IV. 785. **Devouring fire purges all things and melts the dross from out the metals ; therefore it purges the shepherd and the sheep.** — There can be little doubt that Ovid has here hit on the true purpose of the use of fire at the Parilia, though the dangers against which it was supposed to protect the shepherds and the sheep were probably rather spiritual or magical than physical. For by a natural confusion of ideas primitive man regards fire as a purifying agent in a religious and moral as well as in a material sense. The evils of which the shepherds and the sheep were imagined to rid themselves by leaping across the fire were probably, above all, the attacks of demons and the wiles of warlocks and witches. In primitive religion and magic the other great purificatory agent is water, which, by a similar confusion of ideas, is commonly supposed to purge moral guilt and to protect against spiritual dangers. To the virtue of water as a moral purgative Ovid has already referred in the present work.[5] At the Parilia water as well as fire was employed as a spiritual purgative ;[6] and the same combination of the elements occurred at Roman marriages for the same purposes, as Plutarch rightly perceived ; a bride had to touch fire and water to guard her against the

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "*Burranica potio*", p. 33 ed. Lindsay.
[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Burrum", p. 28 ed. Lindsay.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 136, xxiii. 62 ; Columella, *De re rustica*, xii. 19.
[4] *Fasti*, iv. 805, with the note.
[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 35-46.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 736, 778.

numberless spiritual and magical perils that are supposed to beset a woman at that critical moment of her life.[1] With this combination of fire and water in ceremonies at marriage and other times Ovid deals in the following lines, and seeks to find a philosophical or historical explanation of it.

IV. 787. **all things are composed of opposite principles, fire and water — those two discordant deities.** — Elsewhere Ovid explains that, though fire and water are opposite, yet heat and moisture are the source of life, and by their "discordant concord" repeopled the world with innumerable species of living creatures and monsters after it had been devastated by the great flood.[2] Ovid's exposition of the origin of life from the two opposite principles is quoted with approval by Lactantius, who further distinguished fire and water as the male and female, the active and passive elements respectively.[3] The notion that fire was male and water female is mentioned, apparently with favour, by Varro and Plutarch.[4]

IV. 791. **Or did they deem these two important because they contain the source of life, the exile loses them, and by them the bride is made a wife ?**—Roman exiles were forbidden the use of fire and water ;[5] Roman brides were presented with fire and water at the threshold of their new home.[6] This twofold occurrence of fire and water in Roman ritual is noticed also by Festus, who explains it in the same way as Ovid. He says : "It is the custom both to forbid water and fire to the condemned and to give them to brides, namely, because on these two things human life is chiefly dependent. Therefore when persons who have attended a funeral return they used to step over fire and to be sprinkled with water, which kind of purification was called *suffitio*."[7] This use of fire and water after funerals was not limited to Rome ; it has prevailed among many peoples in many lands, and

[1] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 1. [2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 430-437.
[3] Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* ii. 9.
[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 61 ; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 1.
[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Aqua et igni", p. 3 ed. Lindsay ; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* ii. 9 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 119.
[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 61 ; Festus, *s.v.* "Aqua et igni", p. 3 ed. Lindsay ; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 1 ; compare Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* ii. 9.
[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Aqua et igni", p. 3 ed. Lindsay.

probably the original intention always was to interpose a barrier of fire or water or of both between the living and the dead, since the ghost is too apt to pursue his friends on their return home from the grave or the pyre.[1] To take the barrier by fire, for example, some heathen Tartars of Siberia, on returning from a burial, were careful to leap over a fire, which was kept up for the purpose; this they did lest death (or more probably the dead) should pursue them.[2] It is said that some of the Yakuts still observe, or observed till lately, this custom of leaping over a fire on their return from a burial.[3] In China the custom of stepping over a fire or a brazier on returning from a funeral is observed to this day.[4] The fire is kindled outside the door of the house, and all the members of the family pass over it. The reason assigned for it is that the soul of the deceased person cannot pass through the fire.[5] The Tumbuku of Central Africa, on the shores of Lake Nyasa, resembled the Romans in practising both the barrier by fire and the barrier by water after a funeral; for on returning from a burial all who had taken part in it washed in a river, and after that, on their way home to the village, they were met by a native doctor or wizard, who kindled a great fire on the path, and all the mourners had to pass through the flames.[6] These burial customs support the view that the aim of leaping over a bonfire at the Parilia was to escape a spiritual rather than a physical peril; that, in other words, it was not a simple sanitary precaution to ensure the health of man and beast, but a charm to guard them against the maleficent arts of evil spirits or witches.

IV. 793. **Some suppose (though I can hardly do so) that the allusion is to Phaethon and Deucalion's flood.—**

[1] J. G. Frazer, "On certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) pp. 76 *sqq*. I propose to illustrate these and other modes of barring or giving the slip to ghosts more fully in another work.

[2] J. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Siberien von dem Jahre 1733 bis 1743* (Göttingen, 1751–1752), i. 333.

[3] V. Priklonski, "Todtengebräuche der Jakuten", *Globus*, lix. (1891) p. 85.

[4] J. H. Gray, *China* (London, 1878), i. 287, 305; J. J. M. de Groot, *Religious System of China*, vi. 942.

[5] J. Dols, "La Vie chinoise dans la Province de Kan Sou (Chine)," *Anthropos*, x.-xi. (1915–1916) p. 749.

[6] Donald Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People* (London, 1914), p. 159.

Thus Ovid was justly incredulous of the theory which deduced the use of fire at the Parilia from Phaethon's ill-starred attempt to drive the chariot of the sun, and the use of water at the festival from the great flood which overwhelmed the earth in the time of Deucalion, the Greek Noah. Both stories are told by the poet at full length in the *Metamorphoses*.[1]

IV. 795. **Some people also say that when shepherds were knocking stones together, a spark suddenly leaped forth; the first indeed was lost, but the second was caught in straw; is that the reason of the flame at the Parilia?**—The process of kindling fire by knocking flints together and catching the spark in tinder is described by Virgil,[2] who seems to have thought that this was the first process by which men made fire.[3] Pliny was of the same opinion and ascribed the discovery to Pyrodes, son of Cilex, names transparently invented to suit the story.[4] Lucretius supposed that men first obtained fire either from trees kindled by lightning or from branches rubbing together in the wind until, through the force of friction, they ignited.[5] The mode of making fire by striking stones together was in use among the Esquimaux and Indians of Canada, and also among the natives of Tierra del Fuego.[6] But the method of kindling fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, whether in the form of the fire-drill or of the fire-plough ("stick-and-groove"), has been much more widely spread among primitive peoples, and of its two forms the fire-drill has a far larger area of diffusion than the fire-plough, which occurs chiefly among the islanders of the Pacific.[7]

IV. 799. **Or is the custom rather based on the piety of Aeneas, to whom the victorious fire granted a safe passage?**—Ovid seems to have been thinking of the lines in which

[1] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 125 *sqq.* (Deucalion), ii. 1 *sqq.* (Phaethon).
[2] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 174-176.
[3] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 135.
[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 198.
[5] Lucretius, v. 1091-1101.
[6] W. Hough, *Fire as an Agent in Human Culture* (Washington, 1926), pp. 111 *sqq.*
[7] As to the fire-drill and the fire-plough see W. Hough, *op. cit.* pp. 85 *sqq.*, 107 *sqq.* The passages of Greek and Latin writers that refer to the kindling of fire are collected and discussed by Professor M. H. Morgan ("De ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, i. (1890) pp. 56 *sqq.*).

Virgil describes the escape of Aeneas from the burning ruins of Troy: "I go down and, with a god for guide, I thread my way betwixt the flame and the foe: the weapons make room for me, and the flames retire".[1] In another passage our author has repeated the idea of the flames making room for Aeneas when he carried his father on his back.[2] The precious burden gives additional point, or rather weight, to the compliment which Ovid here pays to the piety of Aeneas.

IV. 801. **Or is it haply nearer the truth that, when Rome was founded, orders were given to transfer the household gods to the new houses, and in changing the husbandmen set fire to their country houses.**—Thus Ovid inclines to explain the bonfires at the Parilia historically by supposing that, when Rome was about to be founded, the people set fire to their old homes in the country, and leaping with their cattle through the flames made their way to the new city which was to be their future abode. The explanation is obviously unhistorical, yet it was adopted by the serious historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He says that when all was ready for the foundation of the city, Romulus announced the day on which he proposed to begin the work; and so, when the time appointed was come, he sacrificed to the gods and took the omens. After that he ordered fires to be lit in front of the huts (which the inhabitants were about to abandon), and so led the people forth, everybody leaping over the flames as a purification from all uncleanness. "This festival," adds Dionysius, "the city of Rome still celebrates every year down to my time, esteeming it second to none, and they call it the Parilia; at it farmers and herdsmen offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving at the beginning of spring for the increase of their cattle."[3] This last statement is not necessarily inconsistent with the tradition that no animals were slain at the Parilia;[4] the sacrifice of thanksgiving mentioned by Dionysius may very well have been

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 632-633, "*Descendo, ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis expedior; dant tela locum, flammaeque recedunt*".

[2] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 1. 33-34, "*Cum foret Aeneae cervix subiecta parenti, dicitur ipsa viro flamma dedisse viam*".

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 88.

[4] See above, note on *Fasti*, iv. 721, p. 338.

the bloodless offerings of cakes and milk recorded by Ovid.

IV. 805. **they and their cattle leaped through the flames? Which happens even to the present time on the birthday of Rome.**—Ovid here implies, what in describing the festival he had not expressly affirmed, that at the Parilia the cattle and sheep, as well as the herdsmen and shepherds, had to leap or pass through the flames of the bonfire. The custom of shepherds leaping over the bonfires at the Parilia is mentioned also by Propertius and Tibullus,[1] but neither of these poets speaks of the cattle being driven through the flames. However, the analogy of similar customs observed in many lands makes it highly probable that Ovid was right on this point. Thus in many parts of Europe it has been customary from time immemorial to light great bonfires on certain days of the year, particularly on the first Sunday in Lent, Easter, May Day, and Midsummer Day or Midsummer Eve, to leap over the fires, and to drive cattle and sheep through, round, or between them. Often this is done to guard men and especially beasts against witchcraft, and the same may have been the intention of the similar custom observed at the Parilia.[2] And besides these periodical ceremonies it was the custom to kindle fire by the friction of wood on special occasions, particularly on the outbreak of sickness among the flocks and herds, and to drive the animals through the smoke and flames as a mode of curing or preventing the disease. Such fires were commonly known as need-fires.[3] A need-fire was kindled as a remedy for cattle-disease in Perthshire as late as 1826, and the cattle were made to pass through the flames in the order of their dignity and age, beginning with the horses and ending with the swine.[4]

Such customs are not confined to Europe. In South Africa the Hottentots used at certain times to drive or drag their sheep through smoky fires kindled by the ignition

[1] Propertius v. (iv.) 4. 75-78; Tibullus, ii. 5. 89-90.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 108, 109, 141, 154, 157, 158, 159, 165, 175, 176, 179, 184 *sq.*, 185, 188, 192, 202, 203, 204.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 269-300.

[4] J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (London, 1849), i. 360 note [2].

of chips and twigs.[1] On a certain day in the wet season the inhabitants of certain towns in Southern Nigeria " make two great bonfires, one on each side of the road. Then they gather their cattle, sheep, and goats into a herd and drive them between the walls of flame. This ceremony is said to destroy evil influences which might otherwise have caused sickness to fall upon the beasts during the year, and is also considered to act as a fecundative agent ".[2] Similar customs are observed in India. Thus the Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills sometimes drive cattle, which have recovered from sickness, over the hot embers of a fire in fulfilment of a vow, while more frequently still the priest and a crowd of devotees walk over the fire, which is kindled by the friction of wood.[3] Again, in the Konkan, a district of the Bombay Presidency, cattle are worshipped by the Hindoos on the first day of the month of Kartik (October-November), and they are made to pass over fire.[4]

IV. 808. **We have arrived at the foundation of the city. Great Quirinus, help me to sing thy deeds.**—As we have seen, Rome was believed to have been founded on the twenty-first of April, the day of the Parilia ; so the poet now addresses himself to the task of narrating the great event, and in doing so he naturally invokes the help of Quirinus, the deified Romulus, who, as the founder of Rome, should be able to furnish the bard with accurate information on the subject.[5]

IV. 809. **Already the brother of Numitor had suffered punishment, and all the shepherd folk were subject to the twins.**—Ovid now takes up the tale at the point where he had broken off in the third book. He had there described the miraculous birth and upbringing of the twins, Romulus and Remus, and how, bred among shepherds, the royal youths by their masterful character had attained a position of predominance among the rural population, which enabled them to

[1] Peter Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1738), i. 129-133.

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 249.

[3] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), i. 98 *sq.*, 100 *sq.*

[4] R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), p. 221.

[5] As to Quirinus see *Fasti*, i. 37, with the note.

attack and slay their wicked uncle, the usurper Amulius, and to restore their father Numitor to the throne of Alba, which rightfully belonged to him, as the elder brother of Amulius.[1]

IV. 810. **The twins agreed to draw the swains together and found a city; the question was which of the two should found it.**—The story of the dispute between Romulus and Remus as to which of them should found the city, together with the settlement of the dispute by the omen of the birds, is told in substantially the same way by Ennius, Livy, Florus, Aurelius Victor, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch.[2] Of these writers, Ennius alone says that Romulus took up his position on the Aventine; all the others say that he watched for omens on the Palatine and Remus on the Aventine, and this may be accepted as the orthodox tradition. Ovid expresses himself ambiguously on this point, as if he knew that there were two conflicting traditions and did not wish to commit himself to either. The birds of omen were vultures; six of them first appeared to Remus, but twelve of them afterwards appeared to Romulus.

According to Ennius, one of the points of dispute between the brothers was whether the new city should be called Roma or Remora,[3] in other words, whether it should be named after Romulus or Remus. The name Remoria was afterwards given to a place on the top of the Aventine, where Remus was said to have taken the omens for the founding of Rome.[4] There was also a district named the Remurine land (*Remurinus ager*) after Remus, because it had been owned by Remus, and there was a habitation of Remus called Remona.[5] The Remurine land is no doubt the place called Remoria by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who tells us that it was a hill suitable for the foundation of a city, situated not far from the Tiber at a distance of thirty stades (about four miles) from Rome; according

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 1-70.

[2] Ennius, quoted by Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 48. 107-108; Livy, i. 6-7; Florus, i. 1. 6; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 23; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 86; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9. That Romulus saw twelve vultures on the Palatine and accepted the omen as happy is mentioned also by Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 22.

[3] Ennius, quoted by Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 48. 107.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Remurinus ager", p. 345 ed. Lindsay,

[5] Festus, *l.c.*

to Dionysius, it was there, and not at Rome, that Remus wished to found the city, though he took the omens on the Aventine.[1] The same tradition is reported by Aurelius Victor, who says that the hill where Remus desired to found his city was five miles from the Palatine and was called Remoria.[2] Plutarch confused the place on the Aventine called Remoria, where Remus took the omens, with the Remurine land (*Remurinus ager*), where Remus wished to found the city; for he supposed both places to be situated on the Aventine, and says that the spot was formerly called Remonium but in Plutarch's own day Rignarium.[3] There seems to be no reason for questioning the existence of a place called the Remurine land (*Remurinus ager*) some four or five miles from Rome. It has been conjecturally identified with the hill called the Monte della Creta, situated below Rome on the left bank of the Tiber, exactly opposite the site of the sacred grove of the Arval Brethren.[4] The place on the Aventine, where Remus took the omens, was also known as the Rock (*Saxum*); it is so described by Ovid later on,[5] and is mentioned under that name by Cicero.[6]

According to Plutarch, in taking omens the Romans paid more attention to vultures than to any other birds, and with his usual intelligent curiosity he asked why that was so. Was it because Romulus saw twelve vultures at the foundation of Rome? Or because the bird is rare and unfamiliar, appearing and pouncing down suddenly no one knows from where, for you can hardly find its nest? Or did the Romans learn the observation of vultures from Hercules? For Herodorus says that Hercules delighted in the appearance of vultures as a happy omen at the commencement of any business he was about to undertake.[7] It is said that when Augustus was taking the auspices in his first consulship, twelve vultures appeared to him, as

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 85. 6.
[2] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 23.
[3] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9. 4.
[4] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 180 *sq.*
[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 149-152.
[6] Cicero, *Pro domo sua*, 53. 136.
[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 93, *Romulus*, 9. 5-7.

to Romulus.[1] In Italy it is reported to have been an ancient custom not to kill vultures; even to attack the birds was deemed sacrilege.[2]

In Greece also the vulture was a bird of omen.[3] Indeed, a story was told of the famous diviner Melampus in which the vulture proved himself more knowing and more helpful to the seer than all the other fowls of the air together. It happened in this way. Iphiclus, king of Phylace, inquired of the seer Melampus how he might beget a son, and promised to give him certain cows as a reward if he could furnish him with the needful information. So Melampus sacrificed an ox, cut it up small, and invited the birds to the feast, but he forgot to invite the vulture. Well, all the other birds flocked to the feast, and Melampus asked them all whether they knew how Iphiclus might beget a son. But none of them knew, and being all puzzled they at last brought the vulture, and he knew all about it, and explained, with a precision which left nothing to be desired, both how Iphiclus had lost his virility and how he might recover it. He said that once, when he was a child, Iphiclus had misbehaved, and his father, to punish him, ran at him with the bloody knife with which at the time he chanced to be gelding rams. But the urchin was nimble and escaped his father, who stuck the knife, with the blood of the rams still on it, in a sacred oak or a wild pear-tree (for on this point the accounts differ). The fright thus given to the child, said the vulture, had rendered him impotent, and to restore his virility all that was needed was to withdraw the knife from the tree, wipe off the rust, and give the rust in wine to Iphiclus to drink for ten days; for by that means he would get children. The advice was taken and succeeded perfectly. Iphiclus begat a son Podarces, and rewarded the sage Melampus with the cows he had promised him.[4] In this story, though it is said that the mishap to the child was due to fright, we may surmise that the real cause was thought

[1] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 95. [2] Artemidorus, *Onirocrit.* i. 8.

[3] A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, i. 134.

[4] Apollodorus, i. 9. 12; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 287 and 290 (vol. ii. pp. 498-500, in G. Dindorf's edition of the Scholia, Oxford, 1855); Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685. The accounts of these writers are complementary. See my edition of Apollodorus, vol. i. pp. 88-91, vol. ii. pp. 350-355.

to be the bloody knife, which, by gelding the rams, had acquired power, first, to deprive the boy of his manhood by simply being brandished at him, and afterwards to restore his virility to him by means of the rust adhering to the blade; for in that rust, produced by the blood of the rams, it might be imagined that the generative energy of the rams resided and could be transferred to anybody who swallowed it. In any case, the story attests the high reputation which the vulture enjoyed as a knowing bird, and in the light of it we can understand why the Romans attached great importance to vultures in augury.

IV. 812. **"There needs no contest. Great faith is put in birds; let's try the birds."**—Romans and Greeks alike placed great confidence in omens derived from birds. The Latin word auspices (*auspicium*) means literally "looking at birds", as the Romans were aware;[1] and in Greek the word for a bird (*ornis* or *oionos*) means also "omen".[2] Hence Aristophanes ridiculed his fellow-countrymen, the Athenians, for calling everything a bird, meaning by that an omen; in their mouth, for example, a rumour was a bird, a sneeze was a bird, a meeting was a bird, a servant was a bird, and an ass was a bird; in short, birds were their oracles, their Ammon, their Delphi, their Dodona, their Phoebus Apollo.[3] Another people who attach great importance to omens drawn from the flight and cries of birds are the Kayans of Borneo; indeed, their system of divination is said strangely to resemble, even in many details, the corresponding system practised by the early Romans.[4]

IV. 819. **A suitable day was chosen on which he should mark out the line of the walls with the plough.**—In founding a city the Romans observed a ritual which, according to Varro, was originally Etruscan. They drove a plough round the site

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Auspicium", p. 2 ed. Lindsay, "*Auspicium ab ave aspicienda*".

[2] A Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, i. 130 sq.

[3] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 716-722.

[4] Charles Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), ii. 255. Compare W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 159 *sqq*. As to divination by birds among the pagan tribes of Borneo see further Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*[2] (London, 1863), i. 202-204; Archdeacon J. Perham, in H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), i. 191 *sqq*.

to mark out the boundary. The plough was drawn by a bull and a cow, both white, yoked together so that the bull was to the right and on the outside, while the cow was to the left and on the inside. The share of the plough was of bronze. The man who guided the plough was girt in the Sabine style, with one part of his gown tucked up and another part muffling his head, and he held the handle of the plough turned so that all the clods fell inwards, that is, to the left and not to the right. To make sure that the clods fell in this direction, he was followed by a man whose business it was to turn over to the left, that is, inwards, any clods that had fallen to the right, that is, outwards. The furrow thus drawn was called "the first-born furrow" (*primigenius sulcus*). It was not drawn in one continuous line round the site; for at the places where the gates were to stand, the share was taken out of the plough, and the plough was lifted over the intermediate ground. The whole circuit, so far as it was traced by the plough, was deemed sacred and went by the name of the *pomerium*. But the spaces, where the plough did not pass and the gates were afterwards to stand, were not sacred; for had they been so, they would inevitably have been profaned by the passage through the gates of unclean, but necessary things, including dead bodies carried out to burial.[1]

This description of the rite is compiled from the various ancient authorities cited below, each of whom furnishes some details which are omitted by others. The white colour of the ploughing team is noticed by Ovid alone

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 825-826; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 143, "*Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est iunctis bobus, tauro et vacca interiore, aratro circumagebant sulcum. Hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato, ut fossa et muro essent muniti. Terram unde exculpserant, fossam vocabant, et introrsum iactam murum. Post ea qui fiebat orbis, urbis principium; qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum*"; *id.*, *Rerum Rusticarum*, ii. 1. 10; Festus, *s.v.* "Primigenius sulcus", pp. 270, 271 ed. Lindsay; Isidore, *Origines*, xv. 2. 3 (quoting Cato); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 212, v. 755 (citing Cato's *Origines*); Columella, *De re rustica*, vi. Praef. 7; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 88. 2; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 27 (citing Varro); Zonaras, vii. 3. Varro even held that the Latin word for a city (*urbs*) was derived from the circuit (*orbis*) made by the plough at the foundation of the town. See Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 145, "*Quare et oppida, quae prius erant circumducta aratro, ab orbe et urvo* (the plough-tail) *urbes*".

(line 826). The most interesting details of the ritual are supplied by Plutarch and Servius. Plutarch confirms the statement of Varro that the ritual observed at the foundation of a city was Etruscan; for he tells us that when Romulus was about to found Rome he sent for men from Etruria, who directed him as to all the details of the rite in accordance with certain sacred rules and writings.[1] Plutarch and Zonaras mention the bronze ploughshare[2]—probably a survival from the Bronze Age when iron was either unknown or eschewed as something newfangled and offensive to the gods, who always love to stand on the ancient paths and are suspicious of novelties. The *Origines* of Cato, cited by Servius as his authority, may have been the source on which both he and Plutarch drew, and they could hardly have had a better. It is to Cato probably that we owe the interesting information that in the plough-team the ox was on the right and *on the outside*, while the cow was on the left and *on the inside*.[3] As the bull was on the outer side, to the ploughman's right, it follows that in making the circuit he had his left hand to the centre; hence he made the circuit from right to left, contrary to the apparent motion of the sun, which, as seen by a person facing south, is from left to right.

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11. 1.

[2] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11. 2; Zonaras, vii. 3.

[3] The passages of Servius are as follows. Commenting on the words of Virgil, "*Aeneas urbem designat aratro*" (*Aen.* v. 755), Servius says: "*Quem Cato in Originibus dicit morem fuisse. Conditores enim civitatis taurum in dextram, vaccam intrinsecus iungebant: et incincti ritu Sabino, i.e. togae parte caput velati, parte succincti tenebant stivam incurvam, ut glebae omnes intrinsecus caderent. Et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designabant, aratrum suspendentes circa loca portarum*". Again, commenting on the words of Virgil "*Cui litus arandum*" (*Aen.* iv. 212), Servius says: "*Videtur illud attingere moris antiqui, quod cum conderetur nova civitas, tauro et vacca, ita ut vacca esset interior, a magistratu muri designarentur. Nam ideo ad exaugurandas vel diruendas civitates aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu quo condita subvertatur*". These explicit statements of Servius that the bull was on the (ploughman's) right and the cow on the inner (and consequently left) side render it certain that in the corresponding passage of Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 143 (see above, p. 380), the adjective *interiore* is to be coupled with the preceding *vacca* and not with the following *aratro*, which gives no sense, though it is so conjoined by the latest editors of Varro (Goetz and Schoell). The passage was rightly understood and rightly punctuated, as was to be expected, by their predecessor C. O. Müller in his edition of Varro; and the adjective *interiore* was rightly understood by H. Jordan (*Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 167 note [25]), though he was mistaken in saying (p. 166) that the ploughman turned to the right; the words of Servius prove that he turned to the left.

The reason why, in guiding the plough, the ploughman turned to the left and took care that the upturned clods fell to the left was probably the Roman preference for the left as the lucky direction, a preference which they explained by saying that when you face south you have the rising sun on your left, but the setting sun on your right, and the rising of the sun is naturally a more auspicious omen than its setting.[1] In Greek augury, on the other hand, the rule was reversed; the right was the lucky direction, the left the unlucky. In Latin literature, under Greek influence, the right is sometimes regarded, especially by later authors, as the lucky quarter and the left as the unlucky.[2]

If then the Romans regard the turn to the left as the lucky movement, as appears to follow from the ritual observed by them in founding a city, they differed therein from their kinsmen the Celts of Scotland, with whom it was a maxim that the turn to the right was lucky and the turn to the left unlucky. The turn to the right the Celts of Scotland called *deiseal*, from *deas*, "right", and *iul*, "direction", so that the word contains no allusion to the sun, though it is commonly so interpreted with reference to a person facing south, who sees the sun passing from his left to his right. In the Highlands of Scotland the lucky turn to the right (*deiseal*) was used for everything: the dead were carried thus about the grave: boats were turned thus to sea: drams were served out thus to a company; and so on.[3] Among the Celts of Ireland the turn to the right was similarily accounted

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 833-835; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 39. 82; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 97; Varro, quoted by Festus, *s.v.* "Sinistrae aves", p. 454 ed. Lindsay; Ateius Capito, quoted by Festus, *s.v.* "Sinistrum", p. 476 ed. Lindsay; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 142; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 54, ii. 693; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 5. 5; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 73.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Dextera auspicia", p. 65 ed. Lindsay; Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 9; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 19, "*Ominum dexteritate*". Compare A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 188 *sq.*

[3] J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), pp. 229 *sq.* The word is also spelled *deiseil*, *dessil*, or *deisheal*. See further M. Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. 612 *sq.*; Rev. J. Robertson, in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xi. 621 note; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 193, 271; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), pp. 72 *sqq.* Both Mr. MacCulloch and Miss Hull accept the usual solar interpretation of the turn to the right.

lucky, and the turn to the left (*tuathal* in Irish) unlucky. In English the turn to the left is often called widdershins. It is said that the King of Breifne once "forced the nobles of Ireland to go 'widdershins' or left-handwise round Tara unknown to themselves in order to destroy the chances of one of the O'Rourkes who sought the kingship, and none of his seed ever succeeded in obtaining the throne in consequence".[1] The superstitious preference for the turn to the right was probably based entirely on the supposed superior luckiness of the right hand and had originally no reference to the sun. In Gaelic there is said to be no trace of a Sun-god.[2]

The Roman and Etruscan custom of solemnly drawing a furrow round the site of a new city was, we may surmise, not simply a mode of marking the boundary; it was also a religious or magical rite designed to protect the city against demons and sorcerers, who by their devilish wiles and nefarious arts might bring evil on the inhabitants in the shape of disease, famine, or other calamities. That this was so is at least strongly suggested by the custom, still observed or observed till lately in some parts of Europe, of ploughing a furrow round a village as a barrier against the attack of an epidemic or the incidence of some other misfortune. In East Prussia it is believed that a whole village is protected and blessed if a furrow has been traced round it by a plough drawn by two black cows.[3] When cattle-plague is rife in their neighbourhood, the Mordvins in the Simbirsk Government of Russia trace a furrow round their village by night. The plough is drawn by innocent youths and guided by a chaste maiden, and in front of it walks a venerable elder carrying a holy picture. Thus they go round the village in perfect silence; sometimes they carry with them a little black cat.[4] In 1871 the inhabitants of Davydkovo, a village near Moscow, sought to protect themselves against cholera by ploughing a furrow round the boundary of the village; the plough was drawn

[1] Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, pp. 73 *sq.*

[2] J. G. Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1902), p. 304.

[3] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* [2] (Berlin, 1869), p. 268, § 420.

[4] W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875), pp. 561 *sq.*

by twelve maidens.[1] A similar precaution against cholera was adopted in a Wallachian village of Transylvania in 1866. "Six maidens and six unmarried youths, having first laid aside their clothes, with a new ploughshare traced a furrow round the village, thus forming a charmed circle, over which the cholera demon was supposed to be unable to pass."[2] In Russia the ritual of the ploughing at a time of cattle-plague varies somewhat from place to place. Sometimes the plough is drawn by four widows and the ceremony is performed at night; all fires and lights must be extinguished while the plough is going the round. The people think that no unclean spirit can pass the furrow which has thus been traced.[3] The general form of the ceremony appears to be as follows: "When a village is alarmed lest such a murrain should fall upon its herds, the men are all ordered to shut themselves up in their cottages. Then the women meet together, clad only in white shifts, having their hair hanging loose about their shoulders. . . . The oldest woman among them is then yoked to a plough, and she must draw it three times round the whole of the village, the rest of the party following after her, and singing the songs set apart for such occasions. It is supposed that the malignant spirit whom they recognize in the cattle-plague will be unable to cross the lines thus traced by the plough, or to get at the cattle, which, during the ceremony, have been kept shut up within the village."[4] Similarly we may conjecture that the furrow drawn round the site of the future Rome was intended to guard its inhabitants against the incursions of those invisible foes whom stone walls were powerless to exclude.

IV. 821. **A trench was dug down to the solid rock; fruits of the earth were thrown into the bottom of it, and with them earth fetched from the neighbouring soil.**—Plutarch

[1] W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 561.

[2] E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), ii. 12 *sq.* Compare further H. A. Sauppe, "Der *Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum*," *Programm des Städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 27 *sq.*

[3] A. C. Winter, "Russische Volksbräuche bei Seuchen", *Globus*, lxxix. (1901) p. 302.

[4] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*[2] (London, 1872), p. 396, who gives some of the songs sung on such occasions, together with other details of the ritual (pp. 396 *sqq.*).

says that, under the direction of the wise men whom Romulus fetched from Etruria, a trench was dug round the place afterwards called the Comitium, and that first-fruits of all things which are deemed good and necessary were deposited in the trench; and finally all the people brought small portions of soil from their old habitations, threw them into the trench, and mixed them up together.[1] This concluding part of the ceremony was doubtless a symbolical way of transferring the old homes to the new, and of ensuring union and harmony among the citizens by mingling soil brought from all the places where they had dwelt before. It is to this part of the ceremony that Ovid alludes in the words "earth fetched from the neighbouring soil". It is said to be a Hindoo custom to bury earth from the parental homestead in the foundations of a new house.[2] We may also compare a custom observed by the natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast in West Africa. "The practice of nearly every family in this country is for the headman to hold a horn containing earth from the sacred place of his ancestors, no matter how far away that is. Thus the story of the family's original home is preserved with great truth. This horn is named *kwarra* (Kassena), *bare* (Builsa), *bari* (Nankanni). To it sacrifices are made, and thus the Earth-god of the homeland is appeased."[3]

The throwing of fruits of the earth and other useful objects into the trench at the foundation of the city was, we cannot doubt, a sacrifice intended to secure the stability of the walls and the prosperity of the city, either magically by the intrinsic virtue of the things themselves, or religiously by appeasing the spirits of the earth, who were naturally disturbed by the digging of the trench. Sacrifices offered at the foundation of edifices, such as houses, bridges, and city gates, have been exceedingly common all over the world; the victims sacrificed have often been human beings.

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11. 1.

[2] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. i. (Allahabad and London), p. 87, No. 676.

[3] A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (London, N.D.), p. 20. The Kassena, Builsa, and Nankanni are tribes inhabiting the country (A. W. Cardinall, *op. cit.* p. vii).

The sacrifices offered by the Romans at the laying of foundations would seem to have been bloodless.[1]

It is to be remembered that the digging of the trench here described by Ovid was supposed (as the poet has just reminded us) to have taken place at the festival of the Parilia, which, as we have seen, has some points of analogy with Beltane, the festival formerly held by Scottish herdsmen on May Day. It will be remembered that a feature of the Beltane celebration was the cutting of a square or round trench, in which the herdsmen sacrificed, prayed, and partook of a sacrificial meal.[2] This trench seems to form another link between the Palilia and Beltane. Now the original trench dug at the foundation of the city, on the day of the Palilia, appears to have been square, being in fact identical with what was called Square Rome (*Quadrata Roma*), which, as described by Festus, was a place " in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, where are laid up the things which are wont to be employed for the sake of a good omen at the founding of a city; it is so called because it was originally fortified with a stone wall in a square form ".[3] The description answers well to that which Ovid and Plutarch give of the trench dug by Romulus at the foundation of Rome to receive the foundation-sacrifices, except that Plutarch describes the trench as carried in a circle round the Comitium;[4] But Plutarch was certainly wrong as to the situation of the trench, and he may have been equally wrong as to its shape.

Perhaps we can explain Plutarch's mistake in regard

[1] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], i. 104 *sqq.*; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), pp. 284-296; P. Sartori, " Über das Bauopfer ", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxx. (1898) pp. 1-54; E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906–1908), i. 461 *sqq.*; E. S. Hartland, *s.v.* " Foundation, Foundation-rites ", in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 109 *sqq.*

[2] See above, pp. 349, 363.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* " Quadrata Roma ", pp. 310, 312 ed. Lindsay, " *Quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt, quae solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo munitus est initio in speciem quadratam* ". In this passage I read *munitus*, with previous editors, instead of the meaningless *minitus* of the MSS., which is retained by Lindsay; compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 143, " *ut fossa et muro essent muniti* ". Perhaps we should insert *locus* after *Quadrata Roma* or after *saxo* to correspond with *munitus*.

[4] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11. 1.

to the shape. For he tells us that the trench was called the *mundus* or sky (Olympus is the word which he uses to translate the Latin *mundus*), and that the furrow marking out the boundary of the new city was traced in a circle round the *mundus*, as centre.[1] Yet in another passage Plutarch mentions Square Rome, but applies the name in a wider sense to the whole city founded by Romulus, and it was apparently in this wider sense that the term Square Rome was generally employed, as by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2] and Solinus, who says that the city founded by Romulus "was at first called Square Rome because it was laid out in a quadrangle. It begins at the wood which is in Apollo's area, and it ends on the brow of the hill at the staircase of Cacus, where was the hut of Faustulus. Romulus dwelt there."[3] Yet the use of the name Square Rome to designate a particular place on the Palatine persisted down to the year A.D. 204 at the least; for from an inscription which records the Secular Games celebrated by the Emperor Septimius Severus in that year we learn that the College of the Fifteen Men met in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine to determine by lot the various tribunes or platforms at which they should distribute materials for fumigation (*suffimenta*) to the people, and in the inscription it is expressly mentioned that one of the tribunes on the Palatine was at Square Rome ("*ad Romam quadratam*").[4] This celebration of the Secular Games is described by Zosimus,[5] who mentions the distribution of means of purification to the people by the College of the Fifteen Men "on the Capitol and in the temple on the Palatine", though he makes no mention of Square Rome; the means of purification, he tells us, consisted of torches, sulphur, and bitumen.[6] We may perhaps reconcile the testimonies of Festus and Plutarch on this point by supposing that Square Rome was a square sub-

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11. 2.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 65. 3, compare i. 88. 2.

[3] Solinus, i. 17, "*Dictaque primum est Roma quadrata, quod ad aequilibrium foret posita. Ea incipit a silva quae est in area Apollinis, et ad supercilium scalarum Caci habet terminum, ubi tugurium fuit Faustuli. Ibi Romulus mansitavit*".

[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5050[a] (vol. ii. pars i. pp. 287 *sq.*).

[5] Zosimus, iii. 4 *sqq.*

[6] Zosimus, iii. 5.

terranean chamber supposed to represent the trench dug by Romulus at the foundation of the city, while the *mundus* was a circular aperture in the middle of the floor, which gave access to a lower vault or crypt, and down which offerings could be cast into the vault. This accords well with a statement of Festus, quoting Ateius Capito, that the *mundus* was opened only on three days in the year, namely, on the day after the festival of Vulcan (which fell on the twenty-third of August), and again on the fifth of October and the eighth of November. The reason for keeping the *mundus* closed all the rest of the year, according to Festus, or rather his authority, Ateius Capito, was that the lower part of the structure (what I have called the vault or crypt) was sacred to the deified spirits of the dead (*di manes*), who would naturally be able to issue forth and roam about the city if the aperture were uncovered. Hence the three days on which the *mundus* stood open, and hell was let loose, were " religious " days : no public business might be transacted on them, no army levied, and no battle fought with an enemy.[1]

Now in 1914 the illustrious excavator of the Forum and the Palatine, the late Giacomo Boni, discovered on the Palatine a subterranean structure which he identified with the *mundus*, and the identification appears to be generally regarded as at least probable. The structure is situated under the north-eastern portion of the peristyle of the Flavian palace, and consists of " a chamber with a beehive roof, the sides of which are lined with *cappellacchio* (the soft dark tufa used in the earliest buildings of Rome) ; in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two underground passages lined with cement : these diverge, but meet again in another chamber with a domed roof (cut in the rock), of which only half is preserved, the rest having been destroyed by Domitian's foundations ".[2]

From Mr. Ashby's account it appears that the discoverer, Boni, identified the upper chamber with the *mundus*. But

[1] Festus, *s.v.* " Mundus " and " Mundum ", pp. 144, 145, 146, 147 ed. Lindsay ; compare Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 16-18, quoting Varro.

[2] T. Ashby, in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1914, edited by C. Bailey, p. 12.

perhaps we should rather identify the upper chamber with Square Rome and the circular shaft with the *mundus*; the lower chamber, to which the shaft gives access, would then be the abode of the dead, and we should have to suppose that the hatches were battened down on the ghosts by keeping the mouth of the shaft closed throughout the year, except on the three days when the hatches were unbarred and the unquiet spirits were let loose to squeak and gibber about the streets.[1]

W. Warde Fowler propounded a theory that the *mundus* was a receptacle in which the seed-corn was stored at harvest, and from which it was brought out for the sowing, but in support of this view, which has no ancient authority, he adduced only somewhat vague analogies. On the other hand he may well have been right in his assumption (equally destitute, however, of ancient authority), that the *mundus* was closed by the stone called the *lapis manalis*, which may mean "the ghost stone"; for we are told by Festus that the stone "was esteemed the Gate of Hell (*ostium Orci*) through which the souls of the underground folk, who are called ghosts (*manes*), pass to the folk above".[2] Such a stone would be admirably fitted to bottle up the ghosts at the bottom of the *mundus* by inserting it, like a stopper, in the mouth of the shaft.[3]

But why the mouth of the pit should have been opened

[1] As to the relation of Square Rome (*Roma Quadrata*) to the *mundus* see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 167 *sq.* (who rightly held that the *mundus* was the central point of Square Rome, though by Square Rome he meant the whole of the original city enclosed within the line of the *pomerium*); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 35, 148; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 38; Professor O. L. Richmond, "The Augustan Palatium," *Journal of Roman Studies*, iv. (1914) pp. 222-226 (who accepts Boni's identification of the *mundus* and attempts to determine the exact area of Square Rome as traditionally said to have been laid out by Romulus); L. Homo, *La Rome antique*, pp. 46 *sq.* The *mundus* is believed to be represented on a fragment of the ancient Marble Plan of Rome, where a small four-sided structure of stone, raised above the ground and approached by steps on two sides, stands in the area of Apollo. See S. B. Platner, *l.c.* Such a structure may have been built over the subterranean portion of the edifice.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Manalem lapidem", p. 115 ed. Lindsay, "*Manalem lapidem putabant esse ostium Orci, per quod animae inferiorum ad superos manarent, qui dicuntur manes*".

[3] W. Warde Fowler, "Mundus patet," *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 24-37.

and the ghosts let loose on three particular days of autumn (the twenty-fourth of August, the fifth of October, and the eighth of November) is not manifest on the face of it. A possible reason might perhaps be found for it if we could suppose with Warde Fowler that the seed-corn was deposited after harvest in the *mundus* on the twenty-fourth of August and withdrawn from it for the autumn sowing on the fifth of October and the eighth of November ;[1] many peoples of the lower culture look on the spirits of the dead as the powers responsible for the growth of the crops and therefore offer them the first-fruits of the harvest ;[2] if the early Romans took that view, we could well understand both why the seed-corn was deposited in the abode of departed spirits at harvest, and why later in autumn, when the time of sowing was come, the seed-corn should be brought forth from the nether world and the spirits of the dead allowed to accompany it, that they might fertilize the fields by their invisible attention, while the sower went up and down the furrows scattering the seed. But all this is conjectural.

IV. 828. **Father Mavors and Mother Vesta, stand by me as I found the city !**—In the mouth of Romulus this prayer to Father Mavors (Mars) and Mother Vesta is particularly appropriate, since according to the popular belief the father of Romulus was Mars and his mother a Vestal Virgin, he being, like many other heroes, the son of a virgin. It is true that the epithet Mother was commonly applied to Vesta without reference to Romulus,[3] but it seems not impossible that legend selected a Vestal Virgin for his mother in allusion to the maternal character of the goddess ; for the myth-maker did not dare to hint that his mother was Vesta herself.

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, pp. 27-30.

[2] The custom is widespread, particularly in Africa, where the worship of ancestors is the dominant religion. For evidence see H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*[2] (London, 1927), i. 396-399 ; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), i. 139 *sq.*, ii. 179 *sq.* ; D. R. Mackenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 120 ; E. Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (London, 1925), p. 236 ; J. Cremer, *Les Bobo, la Vie Sociale* (Paris, 1924), pp. 94 *sq.* ; Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Birhors* (Ranchi, 1925), pp. 112, 520 (in India) ; *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 109 *sqq.*

[3] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 498 (where the poet invokes Romulus and Mother Vesta together) ; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5035 (prayer of the Arval Brethren), 5047, 5048 (sacrifices of sheep by the Arval Brethren).

IV. 833. **Jupiter vouchsafed omens by thunder on the left and lightnings flashing in the leftward sky.**—Here, in accordance with the Roman system of augury, thunder and lightning on the left are accepted as a happy omen. In Homer, on the contrary, agreeably to the Greek system of augury, lightning on the right was a good omen.[1]

IV. 843. **Instantly Celer struck the rash man with a shovel. Covered with blood, Remus sank on the stony ground.**—The common tradition ran that Remus was killed by his own brother Romulus for leaping contemptuously over the rising wall of Rome, the fratricide saying as he dealt the blow, "So perish hereafter whosoever shall leap across my walls".[2] This version of the story was accepted, apparently without question, by Cicero, though, in mentioning it and blaming the murderer, he adds, "Begging pardon of Quirinus or Romulus".[3] In harmony with Ovid's version of the story, Aurelius Victor says that Remus was killed by the centurion Celer with a rake;[4] and Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions, without assenting to, the tradition that Remus was killed by Celerius, the clerk of the works, with a blow of a shovel on the head.[5] Plutarch mentions both traditions.[6] Florus says it was doubtful whether Remus was slain by his brother's orders.[7] Ever afterwards, we are told, it was a rule that whoever crossed the trench of a Roman camp by any other than the regular road should be put to death.[8] Perhaps it was the rule that suggested the story of Remus's rash leap and its fatal consequence. Another version of the story was that Remus perished in a faction fight between the henchmen of the two brothers.[9]

It seems not impossible that in the tradition of the murder or execution of Remus we have a reminiscence of a custom of putting a king's brothers to death at his accession to the throne in order to protect him against

[1] Homer, *Il.* ii. 353, ix. 236 *sq.* See above, notes on *Fasti*, iv. 777, 819.
[2] Livy, i. 7. 2. [3] Cicero, *De officiis*, iii. 10. 41.
[4] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 1. 4.
[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 87. 4.
[6] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 10. 1. [7] Florus, i. 1. 8.
[8] Zonaras, vii. 3; Dio Cassius, i. (vol. i. p. 16 ed. E. Cary, from Zonaras).
[9] Livy, i. 7. 2; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 87. 1-3.

their rivalry. In Africa such a custom appears to have been common. Thus among the Baluba, in the upper valley of the Congo, "it was customary for each new chief, on his accession to power, to kill his brothers, lest they should become rival claimants to the throne, and when white men first came to the country, Kabongo and Kasongo Niembo were each attempting to kill the other. Had one succeeded, that part of the country would have had but one head instead of the two as at present."[1] This appears to imply that Kabongo and Kasongo Niembo were a pair of royal brothers who attempted unsuccessfully to murder each other and, failing in the attempt, reigned as kings over two separate kingdoms. In the light of this African parallel to Romulus and Remus we may conjecture that, if Romulus had not killed Remus, Rome would, like Sparta, have had a pair of kings, and the double kingship would have in a manner anticipated the double consulship.

Formerly when the king of Uganda came of age, all his brothers were burnt or starved to death, except two or three, who were preserved to keep up the succession.[2] In this connexion it is to be remembered that, with the extensive system of polygamy practised in African royal families, a king's brothers and half-brothers are generally very numerous. The reason for burning or starving the princes to death was that royal blood might not be shed, so that other modes of execution had to be adopted.[3] When a king of Benin came to the throne, he used to put his brothers to death; but as no one might lay hands on a prince of the blood, the king commanded his brothers to hang themselves, and after they had obeyed the royal command, he buried their bodies with great pomp,[4] just as Romulus did with the body of Remus.

IV. 850. **the affection which he had dissembled was**

[1] W. F. P. Burton, "The Country of the Baluba, in Central Africa," *The Geographical Journal*, lxx. (1927) p. 332.

[2] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 200; J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 67; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 99.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 336 *sq.*

[4] O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam, 1686), p. 313.

plain to see.—According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who adopts the view that Remus was killed in a brawl between the retainers of the two brothers, Romulus buried Remus in Remoria, the hill situated on the left bank of the Tiber some four or five miles below Rome, because in his lifetime Remus had been attached to the spot and had desired to found the new city there; and having interred his brother on the hill he gave himself up to an agony of grief and despair, from which he was only roused by his foster-mother Acca Larentia, who had reared him and his brother from their infancy and loved them with the affection of a mother.[1]

IV. 853. **With that he anointed the body before committing it to the flames.**—It appears to have been customary both in Greece and Rome to anoint a corpse with sweet-smelling oil before committing it to the grave or the pyre.[2] Juvenal speaks of a dandy who, even in the morning, reeked of perfume more than two funerals.[3]

IV. 854. **Faustulus and Acca, her mournful hair unbound, did the same.**—Faustulus was the shepherd who found the infants Romulus and Remus in the she-wolf's den, and Acca Larentia was his wife who nursed them with her milk.[4] The hut of Faustulus was believed to have stood on the Palatine hill, near the head of the staircase of Cacus.[5] That Acca Larentia should have her hair unbound in mourning for her foster-son Remus was in accordance with Roman custom. Plutarch tells us that at a Roman funeral the sons of the deceased had their heads muffled, and the daughters had their heads bare and their hair hanging loose. He contrasts the Greek custom which enjoined that, when a calamity had occurred, the women should shear their hair and the men should let it grow long.[6]

IV. 855. **Then the Quirites, though not yet known by that name, wept for the youth.**—The name Quirites, as the formal designation of Roman citizens in their civil capacity, is said

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 87. 3. As to Remoria see above, note on *Fasti*, iv. 810, pp. 376 *sq.*

[2] Homer, *Il.* xviii. 350, xxiv. 582; Lucian, *De luctu*, 11; Persius, iii. 104.

[3] Juvenal, iv. 108 *sq.*

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 55 *sq.*, with the note.

[5] Solinus, i. 18.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 14.

not to have been adopted until after the union of the Sabines, under King Tatius, with the Romans under Romulus.[1] As the union with the Sabines had not yet taken place at the time of the death of Remus, the poet is strictly correct in saying that the Roman mourners were not yet Quirites.

IV. 859. **mayest thou ever be subject to great Caesar, and mayest thou often have several of that name.**—In thus praying for several Caesars at a time Ovid probably had his eye on the popular prince Germanicus, whom Augustus and Tiberius allowed to bear the title of Caesar in their own lifetime,[2] and on whom Ovid pinned his last hope of restoration from exile after the death of Augustus. In his will Augustus bestowed the title of Caesar also on the three sons of Germanicus.[3] Of them also Ovid may have been thinking when he wrote the present line. Elsewhere Ovid habitually uses the plural Caesars in reference to living members of the imperial family, as when, for example, speaking of the campaigns of Tiberius in Germany, he says that conquered Germany, like the whole world, has bowed the knee to the Caesars.[4]

IV. 863. **I will now tell of the festival of the Vinalia.**—The Vinalia or Festival of Wine is mentioned under this date (the twenty-third of April) in the Esquiline, Caeretan, Maffeian, and Praenestine calendars.[5] It was called the Former Vinalia (*Vinalia Priora*) to distinguish it from a later festival also called Vinalia, which fell on the nineteenth of August.[6] The latter was called the Rustic Vinalia, no doubt because it was celebrated in the country ;[7] Varro says that it was instituted for the sake of the gardens.[8] The Vinalia in April was the day on which the new wine (technic-

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Quirites", pp. 302, 304 ed. Lindsay; Livy, i. 13. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 710. See Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 475-480, with the note.

[2] Dio Cassius, lvii. 5. 1, lvii. 18. 7.

[3] Dio Cassius, lvii. 18. 11.

[4] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 2. 1-2; compare *id.* i. 2. 104, *Ex Ponto*, i. 4. 55, i. 7. 21, ii. 2. 108, ii. 6. 18, ii. 8. 4, iv. 9. 49, iv. 15. 3.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 210, 213, 224, 236, 316.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 287, 289. The festival is marked under this date (August 19) in the Allifanine, Maffeian, Vallensian, Amiternine, and Antian calendars. See *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 217, 225, 240, 244, 248, 325.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20; Festus, *s.v.* "Rustica Vinalia", pp. 322, 323, 366 ed. Lindsay.

[8] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, i. 1. 6.

ally called *calpar*) of the last vintage was drawn from a jar and offered in libation to Jupiter before men might taste it.[1] The wine in question was the wine of the previous year which was kept for some months before it was used. Varro seems to recommend that the wine should be kept for a year before being drunk, but the passage is obscure and probably corrupt.[2] That the Former Vinalia was the day for tasting the new wine is expressly affirmed by Pliny.[3] In Greece the earliest time for drinking the wine of the preceding year was the month of Anthesterion, at the end of winter and the beginning of spring,[4] which agrees fairly with the Roman custom.

According to Festus, the Rustic Vinalia in August was the day on which the wine was first brought into the city ;[5] at Tusculum there was a rule that the new wine should not be carried into the city before the Vinalia was proclaimed.[6] But these statements create a difficulty, for in Italy, as in Greece at the present time, the vintage did not begin till the last days of September ; hence it is hard to see how the new wine of the year could be brought into the city at the Rustic Vinalia on the nineteenth of August. Varro says that the grapes should be gathered and the vintage take place between the autumnal equinox (the twenty-second of September) and the setting of the Pleiades, which took place at morning on the twenty-ninth of October (true setting) or on the ninth of November (apparent setting).[7] Columella, with a close approximation to accuracy, dates the setting of the Pleiades on the twenty-eighth of October and the eighth of November,[8] the first date referring to the true, and the second to the apparent, setting of the constellation. Pliny dates the setting of the Pleiades on the eleventh of November,[9] which is two days later than the apparent

[1] Festus, *s.v.* " Calpar ", p. 57 ed. Lindsay ; *id.*, *s.v.* " Vinalia ", p. 517 ed. Lindsay.
[2] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 65.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 287.
[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 10. 3.
[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Rustica Vinalia ", p. 323 ed. Lindsay.
[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16.
[7] Ideler, " Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid ", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 151-153.
[8] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 78 and 84.
[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 225.

setting. Thus, according to Varro, the vintage covered a period which included roughly the last week of September, the whole of October, and the first week of November. With this dating of the vintage Pliny and Columella agree. Pliny says that the proper time for the vintage is during the forty-four days from the (autumnal) equinox to the setting of the Pleiades.[1] After mentioning the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of September, Columella adds: "On these days the vintage takes place in many (or, according to some manuscript, in most) regions"; but he indicates that the exact time for gathering the grapes differed in different places, for he explains that the ripeness of the grapes was variously determined by the shade of their colour, their taste, the falling of the leaves and tendrils, and so forth.[2] He says, indeed, that in some places the vintage fell on the last day of August, but the only places which he mentions are Baetica (Andalusia) and Africa, where the grapes ripen naturally earlier than in Italy.[3] In two rustic calendars of Imperial date (*Menologia Rustica*) the vintage is dated in October.[4] Thus we must conclude that the Rustic Vinalia on the nineteenth of August fell at least a month, and possibly two months or even more, before the vintage. We may suppose that on that day ceremonies were performed to protect the vines from any harmful influences that might otherwise blight the ripening grapes and spoil the vintage. Varro thought that the day marked the beginning of autumn, and that the festival was instituted to ensure fine calm weather.[5] He tells us that in some parts of Latium the gathering of the first grapes was a public religious rite performed by the priests; and that at Rome, down to his own time, the vintage was inaugurated by the Flamen Dialis, who sacrificed a lamb to Jupiter, and in the interval between the slaughter of the victim and the offering of its inwards plucked the first grapes and gave orders for the vintage to proceed.[6] But

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 319.
[2] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 66-70.
[3] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 60.
[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 281.
[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 289, quoting Varro.
[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16, where for *proiecta* in the edition of Goetz and Schoell we must read *porrecta* with C. O. Müller. Compare J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 184.

this ceremony, as a preliminary to the actual vintage, probably fell at the end of September or in October, and not at the Rustic Vinalia in August.[1]

The custom of offering the first new wine to Jupiter before men might taste it, and the custom that the gathering of the first grapes should be performed by Jupiter's great high priest, the Flamen Dialis, and accompanied by the sacrifice of a lamb to Jupiter, are thoroughly in accordance with the ritual of peoples at lower stages of culture all over the world, who regularly offer the first-fruits of their crops to the gods or the deified spirits of the dead before they dare themselves partake of the new crops.[2] It is notable that in these Roman rites the god of the grapes and of the wine is Jupiter and not Liber, the nearest equivalent of the Greek vine-god Dionysus.

According to Ovid (lines 877-878), the Vinalia was a festival of Venus as well as of Jupiter, but this was denied by Varro, who expressly affirmed that the Vinalia belonged to Jupiter and not to Venus,[3] and in this he was confirmed by Sallust and Masurius, cited by Macrobius.[4] However, in another passage Varro appears to contradict himself by saying that the Rustic Vinalia was instituted in honour of Venus as the patroness of gardens;[5] and yet again he affirms that the Rustic Vinalia on the nineteenth of August was so called because then a temple was dedicated to Venus, and gardens were consecrated, and market-gardeners kept holiday.[6] Thus the ancients seem to have hesitated whether to derive the name Vinalia from wine (*vinum*) or from Venus. The former derivation (from *vinum*) is unquestionably right. A curious blend of wine and Venus is recorded by Plutarch, who tells us that at the Vinalia, which he calls the Veneralia, a great quantity of wine was poured from the temple of Venus.[7]

[1] As to the Vinalia see Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 316, 325 *sq.*; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, i. 196 *sq.*; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 85-88, 204-206; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 115.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 109 *sqq.*

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 4. 6.

[5] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 1. 6.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20.

[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 45.

IV. 865. **Ye common wenches, celebrate the divinity of Venus.**—The day in question (the twenty-third of April) is marked as sacred to Venus in the Caeretan calendar and in a fragmentary calendar of the Arval Brethren; in the latter the goddess is called the Venus of Eryx and the situation of her temple outside the Colline Gate is indicated;[1] thus the evidence of Ovid on these points (lines 871 *sqq.*) is confirmed. The temple was vowed by the consul Lucius Porcius in 184 B.C. in a war with the Ligurians; it was dedicated by the duumvir L. Porcius Licinus in 181 B.C.;[2] it possessed a fine colonnade.[3] In 82 B.C. Sulla gained a decisive victory over the Marian party, in league with a powerful army of Samnites and Lucanians under Pontius Telesinus, close to the temple of Venus outside the Colline Gate. The battle was one of the most desperate ever fought in the long annals of Roman warfare. It was the last bid of Italy for freedom, the last attempt to throw off the Roman yoke. The fate of Rome hung in the balance as it had never done since Hannibal, at the head of his dusky squadrons, had cantered up to the walls of Rome after the battle of Cannae. The Samnite general made no secret of his intention of razing Rome to the ground. "The last day of Rome", he declared, "has come. There will never lack wolves to rob Italy of her freedom till we have cut down the wood in which they make their lair." The battle began late in the afternoon, when Sulla ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, and it was late in the night before victory declared for the Romans. Sulla, mounted on a white horse, was conspicuous everywhere in the thickest of the fight. When morning broke, fifty thousand men lay dead on the field. But Rome was saved.[4]

We are told that at the Rustic Vinalia on the nineteenth of August two temples were dedicated to Venus, as the patroness of gardens; one of the temples was at the Circus Maximus, the other was in the grove of Libitina,[5] which

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 213, 215, 316.
[2] Livy, xl. 34. 4; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 23.
[3] Strabo, vi. 2. 5, p. 272.
[4] Velleius Paterculus, ii. 27. 1-3 (who reports the saying of the Samnite general, Pontius Telesinus); Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 10. 93; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 29-30.
[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Rustica Vinalia", p. 322.

was probably situated near the vast necropolis of Rome on the Esquiline hill.[1]

A note in the Praenestine calendar under the twenty-fifth of April informs us that the day was a holiday for pimps, because the preceding day (the twenty-fourth of April) was a holiday for drabs.[2] Combining this with the present passage of Ovid we must apparently suppose that the festival of courtesans lasted two days, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of April.

IV. 866. **Venus favours the earnings of ladies of a liberal profession.**—Courtesans were obliged to register their infamous profession with the aediles.[3] With the phrase "a liberal profession" we may compare what Ovid says elsewhere of Flora, that she was "none of your glum goddesses, who make great professions".[4]

IV. 868. **give to the Queen her own myrtle and the mint she loves.**—Myrtle was the shrub that of all others was most associated with Venus.[5] The mint (*sisymbrium*) here spoken of is bergamot-mint (*Mentha aquatica*).[6] Pliny says that it grew in watery ground, and that when it was dried it emitted a sweet scent and was inserted in chaplets.[7]

IV. 871. **the temple takes its name from the Sicilian hill.**—From a fragment of the calendar of the Arval Brethren we learn that in her temple outside the Colline gate Venus bore the title of Erucina,[8] that is, the goddess of Eryx, a mountain on the northern coast of Sicily, where Venus, or rather her Greek equivalent Aphrodite, had a famous sanctuary. The temple was of great antiquity and amassed wealth through the votive offerings of generations of worshippers, Sicilian and Roman; the Romans in particular showered honours on the goddess because, as

[1] S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 446. As to Venus Libitina and her grove compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 15. 5; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 23; *id.*, *Numa*, 12. 1 (in this last passage the grove is not mentioned).

[2] *C.I.L.*[2] i. pp. 236, 316.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 85; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 35. 2.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 351, "*Non est de tetricis, non est de magna professis*".

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 15, with the note.

[6] Sir Arthur Hort, "Index of Plants", appended to his edition of Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, vol. ii. p. 476.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xx. 247.

[8] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. ccxxxv; *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 316.

mother of Aeneas, she passed for their ancestress.[1] The temple was served originally by a multitude of consecrated women, but their number had dwindled by the beginning of our era,[2] and in the first century A.D. the sanctuary had fallen into such decay that its restoration was successively decreed by the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius.[3]

IV. 873. **When Claudius carried Arethusian Syracuse by force of arms, and captured thee, too, Eryx, in war, Venus was transferred to Rome in obedience to an oracle of the long-lived Sibyl.**—Syracuse was captured by the Romans under Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 212 B.C.[4] But Ovid was mistaken in supposing that the temple of Venus Erucina at Rome was founded as a result of the victories of Marcellus. The first temple of Venus Erucina at Rome was vowed in 217 B.C. by the dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus in accordance with the directions of the Sibylline books (as Ovid rightly says), which ordained that the temple should be vowed by the man who held the supreme power in the State.[5] The temple was dedicated by the same Quintus Fabius Maximus in the following year (216 B.C.). It stood on the Capitol immediately adjoining a temple of Mind (*Mens*), which was vowed and dedicated in the same years and was only separated from the temple of Venus by a water-channel.[6] This temple of Mind on the Capitol is noticed by Ovid later on in the present work.[7]

Ovid applies the epithet Arethusian to Syracuse with reference to the famous fountain of Arethusa, which rose in the sea at the city.[8] The "long-lived Sibyl" is the Sibyl of Cumae, who was believed to have composed the Sibylline Books, which the Romans consulted as oracles in seasons of doubt and danger.[9]

IV. 879. **There was war to decide whether Turnus or Aeneas should be the husband of Latin Amata's daughter.**—

[1] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 83. [2] Strabo, vi. 2. 5, p. 272.
[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 43; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25. 5.
[4] Livy, xxv. 31. Compare Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 14 *sqq.*; Polybius, viii. 3. (5) *sqq.*, 37. [5] Livy, xxii. 10. 10.
[6] Livy, xxiii. 30. 13, xxiii. 31. 9. As to the dedication of the temple of Mind see Livy, xxii. 10. 10.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 241, with the note.
[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 423, with the note.
[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 158, with the note.

In the following passage Ovid professes to give an historical explanation of the origin of the Vinalia and its relation to Jupiter. Put briefly the explanation is this. In the war between Aeneas and Turnus, king of the Rutulians, for the hand of Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, king of the Latins, by his wife Amata, the Etruscan King Mezentius offered to fight on the side of the Rutulians on condition that they would give him all the wine produced at the next vintage in their country. The Rutulians accepted the condition, and Mezentius, who was a great soldier, took arms on their behalf. In this emergency Aeneas prayed to Jupiter, telling him how the enemy had promised to give the produce of their vintage to the Etruscan king, and vowing to give Jupiter, by way of compensation or bribe, all the new wine from the vineyards of Latium. Jupiter closed with the offer: Mezentius fell in battle; and ever afterwards the Romans kept their vow by annually celebrating the Vinalia and offering the new wine to Jupiter. The same story is told more briefly, or alluded to, by Varro, Festus, Verrius Flaccus (in the Praenestine calendar), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch.[1] But of these writers Verrius Flaccus, Dionysius, and Plutarch say that Mezentius stipulated, not for the wine of a single year, but for the wine of every year; it was to be an annual tribute paid by the Rutulians to the Etruscans. This variation of the story is important and may well contain a reminiscence of a similar tribute which the Etruscans exacted from the Latins at the time when the Etruscan power extended far to the south of the Tiber.

This view is in harmony with, if not actually supported by, the oldest extant version of the story, which is that given by Cato in the first book of his *Origines*. As quoted by Macrobius, the passage ran thus: "Mezentius commanded the Rutulians to offer to him the first-fruits, which they usually offered to the gods; and all the Latins, for fear of such a command, made this vow: 'O Jupiter, if it pleases thee that we should give these things to thee

[1] Varro, quoted by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 88; Festus, *s.v.* "Rustica Vinalia", p. 322 ed. Lindsay; Verrius Flaccus, note in the Praenestine calendar, *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 236, 316; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 65. 2; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 45.

rather than to Mezentius, grant us the victory'."[1] Here it is to be observed that no mention is made specially of the wine; what Mezentius demanded for himself was all the first-fruits which till then the Latins had offered to the gods, and among which naturally the first-fruits of the vintage would be included. Thus Mezentius arrogated to himself the honours which till then had been paid to the gods. That, no doubt, as Macrobius perceived, was the reason why Virgil stigmatized Mezentius as a "despiser of the gods".[2] The tradition may point to a claim to divinity set up by Etruscan kings, as by kings in so many other parts of the world. When with the progress of civilization such claims cease to be understood, tradition tends to preserve the memory of them as isolated cases of individual impiety rather than as representative of the general rule. So among the kings of Alba one impious wretch, Remulus, Romulus, or Amulius Silvius, was said to have aped Jupiter in his divine prerogative of making thunder and lightning, and thus to have drawn down on his own head the punishment of his sin;[3] though, if we may judge by analogy, the making of thunder and lightning, or at all events of rain, was part of the ordinary business of kings in those days. In like manner the legend of Mezentius points to an ancient custom of offering the first-fruits of all the products of the earth to Etruscan, perhaps also to Latin, kings, before their subjects were allowed to taste of the new crops.

Such a custom has many analogies in the usages of savage and barbarous tribes in many parts of the world.[4] Among the Bassari, for example, a tribe of Togoland in West Africa, no man may eat of the new yams until the people have paid a tribute of the first-fruits to the king. At such times long files of men, women, and children may be seen wending their way to the capital to render to the king his dues. But the king himself may not partake of

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 5. 10.

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 648, "*Contemptor divum Mezentius*". Compare Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 5. 11, "*Ergo quod divinos honores sibi exegerat, merito dictus est a Virgilio contemptor deorum*".

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 48, with the note.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 109 *sqq.*

the new yams until he has offered a portion of them, along with ten white fowls, to the fetish.[1] Among the Betsileo of Madagascar the king used to receive first-fruits of all the crops, such as rice, maize, manioc, beans, and sweet potatoes; indeed, this tribute of first-fruits formed a large part of his revenue.[2] The Hovas of Madagascar present the first sheaves of the new grain to the sovereign. The sheaves are carried in procession to the palace from time to time as the grain ripens.[3] So in Burma, when the *pangati* fruits ripen, some of them used to be taken to the king's palace that he might eat of them; no one might partake of them before the king.[4] In the Tonga Islands the first-fruits of the year were presented with great solemnity to the sacred chief who bore the title of Tooitonga and was regarded as divine. The ceremony generally took place about October, and the people believed that if the rite were neglected the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon them.[5] This last example is particularly instructive because in it the ruler to whom the first-fruits are offered is himself believed to be divine. It may have been the same with the Etruscan kings, of whom Mezentius was probably typical.

IV. 897. **Autumn came round, stained with the trodden grapes.**—Autumn is here conceived as treading the grapes in the winepress, his legs splashed and empurpled by the juice of the crushed clusters. The picturesque description is repeated by the poet in another passage of his works.[6] In autumn I have seen the grapes so trodden in Greece, at the village of Hagios Georgios, near the site of the ancient Phlius.

IV. 901. **When April shall have six days left, the season of spring will be in mid course, and in vain will you look for**

[1] H. Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), p. 504.

[2] G. A. Shaw, "The Betsileo", *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine, Reprint of the First Four Numbers* (Antananarivo, 1885), p. 346.

[3] J. Cameron, "On the Early Inhabitants of Madagascar", *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine, Reprint of the First Four Numbers* (Antananarivo, 1885), p. 263.

[4] A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, ii. (Leipzig, 1866) p. 105.

[5] W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Second Edition (London, 1818), ii. 78, 196-203.

[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 29.

the ram of Helle, daughter of Athamas.—Ovid has already told at full length the mythical history of the constellation of the Ram and its relation to Helle, daughter of King Athamas.[1] He must here refer to the setting of the constellation at evening, but he has placed it much too late (on the twenty-fifth of April); for in his time the apparent setting of the constellation at evening fell on the twentieth of March and the true setting on the fifth of April. Even if his words could refer to the rising of the Ram at morning, the date would still be too late, for the apparent rising of the constellation at morning fell on the fifteenth of April.[2]

Why Ovid dated the middle of spring on the twenty-fifth of April is not clear. Columella dated the middle of spring a few days earlier, on the twenty-first of April.[3]

IV. 904. **the constellation of the Dog will rise.**—This is a gross error; the rising of the Dog-star (Sirius) at morning did not take place in Ovid's time till more than three months later, on the second of August. On the other hand, the star set at evening on the first of May, only six days after the date here assigned by Ovid to its rising; so no doubt he, or his authority, meant to refer to the setting rather than to the rising of the star. Columella dated the setting of the Dog-star at evening on the thirtieth of April,[4] which is only one day out; Pliny dated it on the twenty-eighth of April.[5] For the correct dates of the rising and setting of the Dog-star in the time of Ovid, as for all other corrections of his astronomical statements, I am indebted to Ideler, who observes that the festival of the Robigalia on the twenty-fifth of April, which Ovid describes in the following passage, appears to have been introduced at a very ancient date, when Sirius set several days earlier than in the time of Caesar and Ovid.[6] The observation tallies perfectly with the

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 851-876, compare iv. 715.

[2] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 149 *sq.*

[3] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 36.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 37.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 285.

[6] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 163 *sq.*

character of the festival, which savours of a rude and even barbarous antiquity.

IV. 905. **as I was returning from Nomentum to Rome.**—Nomentum was an ancient city of Latium distant some fourteen or fifteen miles from Rome, on the borders of the Sabine hills.[1] A special road, the Nomentan Way (*Via Nomentana*), led to it from the Colline Gate.[2] In Ovid's time and long afterwards Nomentum seems to have been a quiet country town, where sick and jaded Romans, worn out by the noise and bustle and turmoil of the great city, sought to restore their shattered nerves by a temporary sojourn in fine air and rural tranquillity. Atticus, the friend of Cicero, had a farm there,[3] and Seneca and Martial owned each a house or a cottage in the neighbourhood. Seneca tells us how, when he once suffered from an attack of fever in Rome, he ordered out his carriage and set off for Nomentum; and he describes how he felt better as soon as he had left behind him the heavy air, the smoke, and smells of Rome, how his strength revived when he came to the vineyards, and how his appetite grew voracious when he found himself among the green pastures of the hills.[4] Martial wrote from his cottage at Nomentum to a friend who was taking the baths at Baiae, and gave him to understand that he preferred the ease and simplicity of the country life he was leading to all the luxury and gaieties of that fashionable seaside resort.[5] And in another poetical epistle to a friend, who asked him why he resorted so often to his cottage at Nomentum, the poet tells him plainly that it was to sleep, since Rome was a place where a poor man could neither think nor sleep, so incessant, so various, and so jarring were the noises that banished slumber and distracted thought by day and by night.[6] It is possible that Ovid also had a country house at Nomentum, and that returning

[1] Sir E. H. Bunbury, in W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 244 *sq.*

[2] Strabo, v. 3. 1, p. 228. As to the Nomentan Way see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1. p. 221; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 70; S. B. Platner *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 125 *sq.*

[3] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 14. 3.

[4] Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* civ. 1 and 6.

[5] Martial, vi. 43.

[6] Martial, xii. 57.

from it on an April day he fell in with the procession of the Robigalia.

IV. 906. **a white-robed crowd blocked the middle of the road.**—So Tibullus speaks of "the white-robed crowd" who, with wreaths of olive on their heads, followed the sacred lamb to the altar at the rustic sacrifice of the Ambarvalia; and he explains the white colour by saying that the gods love purity, and that therefore the worshippers should come with pure garments and pure hands.[1]

IV. 907. **A flamen was on his way to the grove of ancient Mildew** (*Robigo*).—The festival of the Robigalia in honour of the god or goddess Mildew (*Robigus* or *Robigo*), for there was some difference of opinion as to the sex of the deity, is recorded under the twenty-fifth of April in the Esquiline, Caeretan, Maffeian, and Praenestine calendars;[2] and the date of the festival is further confirmed by the testimony of Festus, Pliny, and Servius.[3] A note in the Praenestine calendar, probably indited by Verrius Flaccus, gives some additional information: "The festival of Robigus takes place at the fifth milestone on the Claudian Way, lest mildew (*robigo*) should harm the corn. A sacrifice is offered and games are held by runners both men and boys."[4] According to Pliny, the festival was instituted by Numa in the eleventh year of his reign, and the reason for holding it on the twenty-fifth of April was because at that season the crops were attacked by mildew.[5] That Mildew, whether you called him Robigus or her Robigo, was a deity, and that he or she could protect the crops against the mildew from which he or she took his or her name, of that no reasonable man appears to have entertained a doubt. "The Robigalia", says the grave Varro, "is named after Robigus; while the crops are in the field sacrifices are offered to this god, lest mildew should attack the crops."[6] To the same

[1] Tibullus, ii. 1. 13-16.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 210, 213, 224, 236, 316.

[3] Festus, *s.v* "Robigalia", p. 325 ed. Lindsay; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 285; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 151.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 236, 316, "*Feriae Robigo via Claudia ad milliarium V, ne robigo frumentis noceat. Sacrificium et ludi cursoribus maioribus minoribusque fiunt*".

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 285.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16.

effect Festus, or rather his late epitomizer Paulus, says that "the Robigalia is a festival on the twenty-fifth day of April, on which they sacrificed to their god Robigus, who, they thought, could ward off mildew".[1] The only question that could fairly be asked was whether the deity was male or female, a god (Robigus) or a goddess (Robigo). Ovid makes a goddess of Mildew (Robigo), and in this he is supported by Columella,[2] and followed by the Christian Fathers Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustine.[3] But the weight of ancient authority is in favour of the view that Mildew was really a god (Robigus) rather than a goddess (Robigo); so at least thought, or reported, Varro, Verrius Flaccus, Festus, Aulus Gellius, and Servius.[4] Yet on the other hand it is to be observed that the Latin word for mildew is the feminine noun *robigo*; so that in order to convert this particular sort of pest into a deity no change whatever, not even of the grammatical termination, was necessary; the apotheosis was the easiest and most natural possible.

We learn from Ovid that the victims sacrificed to Mildew (Robigus or Robigo) at the Robigalia were a dog and a sheep (lines 908, 935-936). Columella describes the canine victim more exactly as a sucking puppy, whose blood and bowels served to propitiate the malignant goddess Mildew (Rubigo), in order that she might not blight the green crops.[5]

But the god or goddess Mildew was not by any means the only enemy with whom the crops had to wrestle, and whose favour was sought by the sacrifice of a dog. Another formidable foe of the farmer was Sirius or the Dog-star, and what could be more natural than to appease the wrath of the Dog-star by the sacrifice of a dog? And this in fact was done. Every year a sacrifice, called the Doggy Sacrifice

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Robigalia", p. 325 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Columella, *De re rustica*, x. 342.

[3] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 20; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 21.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16; *id.*, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 1. 6; Verrius Flaccus, note in the Praenestine calendar, *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 236, 316; Festus, *s.v.* "Robigalia", p. 325 ed. Lindsay; Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 14; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 151.

[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, x. 342-343, "*Hinc mala Rubigo virideis ne torreat herbas,* | *sanguine lactentis catuli placatur et extis*".

(*sacrum canarium*), was offered at Rome by the public priests, because at the rising of the Dog-star the heat of summer was most intense and sickness was rife.[1] However, it would seem that the sacrifice was not offered at the moment of the rising of the Dog-star, which, as we have seen, took place on the second of August ;[2] for in the books of the pontiffs it was laid down as a rule that the days for taking the omens from dogs ("*augurio canario agendo*"), which presumably coincided with the days on which the dogs were sacrificed, "should be fixed before the corn has sprouted from the sheath, but not before it is in the sheath".[3] This points to a day in spring, and certainly not in the torrid heat of an Italian August. If, as Warde Fowler says, this stage in the growth of the corn takes place in Italy at the end of April or the beginning of May,[4] the Doggy Sacrifice must have been offered about the same time as the Robigalia, but it need not have coincided with it, except by accident ; for whereas the Doggy Sacrifice was clearly a moveable feast, the date of which was determined by the pontiffs from year to year according to the state of the crops, the Robigalia was always nailed down to the twenty-fifth of April. The Doggy Sacrifice was offered not far from a gate at Rome which was called in consequence the Puppy's Gate (*Porta Catularia*), because there "red bitches were sacrificed to appease the Dog-star, which is hostile to the corn, in order that the yellowing corn may reach maturity".[5]

The situation of the Puppy's Gate at Rome is otherwise unknown ; it appears to be mentioned by no other ancient writer. The same may be said of the grove of Mildew mentioned by Ovid, where he saw the rites of the Robigalia

[1] Philargyrius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 425.

[2] Note on *Fasti*, iv. 904 (above, p. 404).

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 14, "*Ita enim est in commentariis pontificum : Augurio canario agendo dies constituantur priusquam frumenta vaginis exeant nec antequam in vaginas perveniant*".

[4] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 90 note [4].

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Catularia", p. 39 ed. Lindsay, "*Catularia porta Romae dicta est, quia non longe ab ea ad placandum caniculae sidus frugibus inimicum rufae canes immolabantur, ut fruges flavescentes ad maturitatem perducerentur*". Compare Festus, *s.v.* "Rutilae canes", p. 358 ed. Lindsay, "*Rutilae canes, id est non procul a rubro colore, immolantur, ut ait Ateius Capito, canario sacrificio pro frugibus deprecandae saevitiae causa sideris caniculae*".

performed. It is true that according to Verrius Flaccus, as we have seen, the Robigalia was celebrated at the fifth milestone on the Claudian Way, and it would be natural to suppose that the grove of Mildew was situated there. But against this it is to be observed that when Ovid reached the grove of Mildew he was coming from Nomentum, probably by the Nomentan Way, which entered Rome from the east by the Colline Gate,[1] whereas the Claudian Way diverged from the Flaminian Way,[2] the Great North Road of Rome, which issued from the Flaminian Gate in the northern quarter of the city, near the present Porta del Popolo.[3] The point of divergence of the Claudian Way from the Flaminian Way was at the third milestone and therefore near the Mulvian Bridge (the modern Ponte Molle);[4] and as, according to Verrius Flaccus, the place at which the Robigalia was celebrated was at the fifth milestone on the Claudian Way, it must have been far from the Colline Gate by which Ovid, returning from Nomentum, would enter Rome. We need not suppose, nor indeed is it likely, that the Robigalia was celebrated in a single place; it seems more probable that as mildew was the farmer's enemy everywhere, rites to avert it were performed in many places. To judge from Ovid's description, the grove of Mildew (Robigo or Robigus) was situated somewhere on the Nomentan Way a little beyond the Colline Gate.

Th. Mommsen, however, ingeniously sought to reconcile Ovid's description with the statement of Verrius Flaccus[5] by supposing that on his return from Nomentum our author went straight to his gardens, which were on pineclad hills at the meeting of the Claudian and Flaminian Ways, gardens which the poet had watered with his own hands, and of which, in his dreary exile on the bleak shores of the Black Sea, he thought with fond regret, wondering who now gathered the fruit of the trees which he himself had planted in happier days.[6] If Ovid did indeed, returning from

[1] Strabo, v. 3. 1, p. 228. [2] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 8. 44.
[3] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1. p. 353; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 125.
[4] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 316.
[5] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 316 *sq.*
[6] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 8. 43-48.

Nomentum, go to his gardens on the day of the Robigalia, it would have been easy for him to fall in with the flamen and the white-robed crowd on their way to the place of sacrifice on the Claudian Road; but if he did so he must, to reach his gardens, either have traversed a great part of the city or made a wide circuit outside of it; and in that case why should he say that he met the procession on his way from Nomentum? Surely he intended to indicate thereby the situation of the sacred grove of Mildew on or near the Nomentan Way.

The red colour of the puppies sacrificed at the Robigalia was probably chosen on homoeopathic principles, either to promote a ruddy colour in the ripening corn, or more probably to avert the rusty red of mildew, which on account of its colour is often called "rust" in English. "It is caused by the fungus *Puccinia graminis*, and is recognisable in early summer by the appearance of reddish orange streaks and spots on the leaves, from which is shed a reddish powder, the spores of the fungus. Towards the latter part of summer the orange 'rusted' spots give place to darker ones, when the plants are commonly said to be 'mildewed'. 'Rust' and 'Mildew' are now proved to be different stages in the life-history of the same fungus. Varieties of wheat show great differences in the degree of their susceptibility to attack, some being practically immune."[1]

The Roman Church long continued on the same day (the twenty-fifth of April), but under the name of St. Mark instead of Mildew, the procession of the Robigalia which Ovid witnessed nearly two thousand years ago. The procession assembled in the church of S. Lorenzo in the Corso, and then proceeded along the Corso (which follows the line of the Flaminian Way) to the Porta del Popolo, and so out, still following the line of the Flaminian Way, to the Mulvian Bridge (Ponte Molle), where it halted and, facing about, returned to the city and marched to the great church of S. Maria Maggiore, where high mass was celebrated. To this day the Catholic Church continues to pray for the crops on the twenty-fifth of April, as the

[1] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. viii. (London and Edinburgh, 1926) p. 855, *s.v.* "Rust".

flamen of Quirinus used to do on the same day in the olden time.[1]

Corresponding to the Roman Robigus or Robigo was Apollo Erythibius, that is, Mildew Apollo, whom the Rhodians worshipped and to whom they dedicated a sanctuary; for in their dialect *erythibe* meant "mildew".[2] This Mildew Apollo may, or may not, be identical with Apollo Erethimius, of whose priests a list is recorded in an inscription found in the island of Rhodes,[3] and who, under the title Apollo Erethymius, was worshipped also in Lycia, where a festival called the Erethymia was celebrated in his honour.[4] Apollo was, indeed, the deity to whom the Greeks commonly looked to rid them of pests, whether in the vegetable or in the animal form, and his title varied with the particular sort of pest from which he was expected to deliver his worshippers; hence it is that we hear of Locust Apollo (*Apollo Pornopion*),[5] Mouse Apollo (*Apollo Smintheus*),[6] and Wolf Apollo (*Apollo Lykios*),[7] as well as of Mildew Apollo. It was in his wolfish character that Apollo received sacrifices of wolves at Argos.[8] The Romans were too considerate to impose so many diverse tasks on a single hard-worked divinity; they carried the division of labour—that Palladium of economic science—much further in divine things than did the Greeks; they never expected the deified Mildew to trouble his or her head about anything but mildew.[9]

[1] H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*[2] (Bonn, 1911), pp. 306-311.

[2] Strabo, xiii. 1. 64, p. 613.

[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 724; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*, No. 875; I. de Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii. 1. p. 363.

[4] Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἐρεθύμιος. The identification both of the Rhodian Apollo Erethimius and of the Lycian Apollo Erethymius with Apollo Erythibius was accepted by H. Usener, but it is denied by Martin P. Nilsson. See H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896) pp. 262 *sq.*; Martin P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 143 *sq.*

[5] Strabo, xiii. 1. 64, p. 613.

[6] Homer, *Il.* i. 39, with the Scholia; Strabo, xiii. 1. 48, p. 604, xiii. 1. 63, p. 612; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 39, p. 34 ed. Potter.

[7] Pausanias, i. 19. 3 (with my note), ii. 9. 7, ii. 19. 3, viii. 40. 5; Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 7; Im. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* (Berlin, 1814–1821), i. 277, lines 10 *sq.*

[8] Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 6.

[9] As to the Robigalia see Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 316 *sq.*; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 43-45; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the*

IV. 910. **Thy flamen, O Quirinus, pronounced these words.** —The flamen of Quirinus, or the flamen Quirinalis, as he was usually called, was one of the three great flamens or sacrificial priests who had always to be patricians.[1] The other two were the flamen Dialis, that is, the flamen of Jupiter, and the flamen Martialis, that is, the flamen of Mars. All three priesthoods were said to have been instituted by Numa.[2] Of the three, the flamen Dialis ranked first, the flamen Martialis second, and the flamen Quirinalis third; all three ranked above the Pontifex Maximus, but below the Sacrificial King, who stood at the head of the hierarchy; at banquets their places were assigned to them in this order of precedence.[3] The flamen Martialis and the flamen Quirinalis were not subject to the same rigid and irksome system of restrictions or taboos as the flamen Dialis: they were not bound to wear their priestly costume except in the act of sacrificing; and in later times they were free to quit Italy and to journey on horseback.[4] But in the earlier ages they were not allowed to leave Rome; for in the Second Punic War we read of a flamen Quirinalis who was, fortunately perhaps for him, disqualified by his sacred office for election to the consulship, which would have compelled him to take the field against Hannibal, who would doubtless have been happy to meet the holy man at the head of an army anywhere outside the walls of Rome.[5] The lesser flamens were plebeians.[6] The flamens took their special titles (Dialis, Martialis, Quirinalis, and so on) from the particular gods whom they served,[7] and it is not obvious

Period of the Republic, pp. 89-91; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 195-197; J. Ilberg, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 129 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Robigus"; S. Eitrem, "Some Roman Festivals, Expiatory and Purificatory", *Festskrift till Alf Torp* (Kristiania, 1913), pp. 74 *sq.* (separate reprint); Pfister, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Zweite Reihe, i. 1. coll. 949-951, *s.v.* "Robigalia".

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Maiores flamines", p. 137 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Livy, i. 20. 2.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Maximae dignationis", p. 144 ed. Lindsay; *id.*, *s.v.* "Ordo sacerdotum", pp. 198, 200 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 552.

[5] Livy, xxiv. 8. 10.

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Maximae dignationis", p. 144 ed. Lindsay.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 84.

why the flamen Quirinalis should have officiated at the Robigalia.

IV. 913. **O let the crops, nursed by the heaven's propitious stars, grow till they are ripe for the sickle.**—The ancients believed that the stars influenced the weather as well as the destinies of man. Virgil speaks of the storms of autumn and the stars in the same breath, as if the stars were the causes of the storms;[1] and so Ovid mentions "the lowering star and rain",[2] as if the rain were an effect of the star. Pliny seems to have thought that wind, rain, and hail were produced by the motions of the stars.[3] Manilius would trace to the influence of the stars, not merely the differences of the natural products of the earth, but the differences of the various races of men in complexion, language and customs.[4]

IV. 919. **when the sun warms the wet stalks, then, dread goddess, is the hour to wreak thy wrath.**—It was a common opinion in antiquity that a heavy dew and warm sunshine were the cause of mildew.[5] Here as elsewhere Ovid speaks of the sun in mythical language as Titan,[6] just as two lines before he had spoken of the corn as Ceres.

IV. 926. **There is no need of them: the world is at peace.**—The poet has already alluded thankfully to the peace which the weary world was then enjoying after the long and internecine struggles of the civil wars.[7]

IV. 927. **the curved share be burnished bright; but let rust defile the arms.**—So Tibullus says that in the piping times of peace the share and hoe shine bright, but the soldier's weapons rust in the dark.[8]

IV. 933. **On his right hand hung a napkin with a loose nap.**—In offering sacrifices Roman magistrates washed their hands and wiped them with linen napkins.[9]

IV. 936. **sheep's guts, and the foul entrails of a filthy**

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 311, "*Quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam*".
[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 281.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 116, xviii. 208.
[4] Manilius, iv. 711-743.
[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 275.
[6] Compare *Fasti*, i. 617, with the note.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 67-68.
[8] Tibullus, i. 10. 49-50.
[9] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 169, comparing Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 376 *sq.*, "*Manibus liquidas dant ordine fontis | germanae, tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis*".

dog, he put upon the hearth.—The Robigalia was not the only festival at which the Romans sacrificed dogs; they sacrificed them also at the Lupercalia and on other occasions. Ovid has told us that he himself saw the Sapaeans, a Thracian tribe, sacrificing the entrails of dogs to Hecate.[1] Here he speaks of the dog with disgust, as if it were a filthy victim; yet the Homeric Greeks can hardly have looked on it in that light, for Homer describes how Achilles cut the throats of two dogs and flung them, along with four horses, on the pyre where his dear friend Patroclus was burned.[2] Pliny observes that formerly people looked on sucking puppies as such clean food that they employed them as sacrificial victims to propitiate the deities.[3]

IV. 939. **There is a Dog (they call it the Icarian dog), and when that constellation rises the earth is parched and dry, and the crop is nipped untimely.**—The Dog-star was said to have been the faithful dog Maera, who discovered the dead body of his master Icarius and performed funeral rites for Erigone, daughter of Icarius, when she hanged herself for grief at the death of her father. As a reward for his fidelity the dog was transported by Jupiter (Zeus) to the sky, and there transformed into the Dog-star or rather Canicula (Procyon).[4] The story ran that when Dionysus first came to Attica he was hospitably received by Icarius; so the god rewarded his host with the gift of a vine and taught him how to make wine. Anxious to communicate the boon to mankind, Icarius bestowed the wine on some shepherds, who drank themselves drunk, and, imagining that they were bewitched, murdered their benefactor.[5] Icarius took his name from Icaria, a township of Attica.[6] Curiously enough, the place, despite its mythical interest, is not mentioned by Pausanias in his peregrination of Greece. But it has been discovered and identified by inscriptions

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 389, with the note.
[2] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 171-174.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 58.
[4] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4; *id.*, *Fab.* 130; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 389; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 95 (96) pp. 388 *sq.* ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); compare Apollodorus, iii. 14. 7.
[5] Apollodorus, iii. 14. 7; and the authorities cited in the preceding note.
[6] Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἰκαρία.

in modern times. It is in a wooded dell at the northern foot of the forest-clad slopes of Mount Pentelicus, and is still known to the people of the neighbourhood by the name of Dionysos. The spot is solitary, there is no village, only a long straggling house occasionally inhabited by the peasants who come hither to gather resin in the surrounding pine woods. Eastward the ground slopes in terraces, intersected by runnels and shaded by plane-trees, to a wooded glen, where, not far from a cave in the side of the ravine, a stream tumbles over rocks in a picturesque cascade. From the west the path leads to the spot through beautiful woods and dingles, which, I understand, have suffered much from fire since I walked through them on a summer day many years ago.[1]

However, other stories were current as to the origin of the Dog-star. According to one of them, the dog had been given to Europa to guard her; after her death the animal was inherited by her son King Minos, who bestowed it as a reward on Procris because she had healed him of a grievous malady. So the dog came into the possession of Cephalus, the husband of Procris, and he took the hound with him to hunt a certain fox, or rather vixen, which was ravaging the Cadmea in Boeotia. Every month the Thebans had to expose the son of a citizen to the ferocious animal, which otherwise would have devoured many more victims. There was an oracle that the vixen could never be killed by anybody. However, Zeus turned it to stone, and transported the dog to the stars. But, according to others, the dog as well as the vixen was petrified by Zeus.[2] Yet another story ran that the dog belonged to the mighty hunter Orion and attended him in the chase, and that, when Orion himself was changed into the bright constellation which bears his name, the hound went up to heaven with his master and was converted into the Dog-star.[3]

The ancients seem to have believed that the rising of the Dog-star (Sirius) not only accompanied but caused

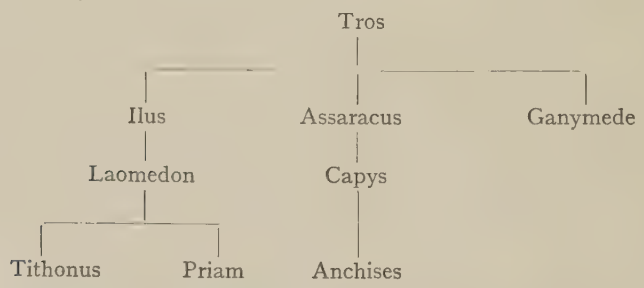
[1] I have described the place and its ancient remains in my commentary on Pausanias (vol. ii. pp. 461-463).

[2] Eratosthenes, *Catasterr.* 33; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea,* 336 (335) p. 414 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); Apollodorus, ii. 4. 6-7; Pausanias, ix. 19. 1.

[3] Eratosthenes, *Catasterr.* 33 and 42.

the extreme heat of summer. Hence Virgil speaks of Sirius "parching the thirsty Indians",[1] and "burning up the barren fields",[2] and Tibullus has it that "Sirius splits the parched fields".[3] Statius says in one passage that "Sirius barked with his hot star",[4] and in another he tells us that "Sirius set on fire the panting fields".[5] Inviting a friend to spend a summer day or days with him at his Sabine farm, Horace holds out as an inducement to him that in his retired vale he will shun the heat of the Dog-star (Canicula);[6] and elsewhere he says that the fierce time of the flaming Dog-star (Canicula) can never touch the cool water of his Bandusian spring.[7] But, as we have seen, Ovid was grossly mistaken in thinking (line 904) that the Dog-star (Sirius) rose on the twenty-fifth of April; in his time it did not rise till the second of August.[8]

IV. 943. **When the spouse of Tithonus has left the brother of Phrygian Assaracus.**—This means in plain prose, "when the morning has broken". The spouse of Tithonus is Aurora, the deified Dawn.[9] Ovid here represents Tithonus as a brother of Assaracus, but herein he departs from the Homeric genealogy of the Trojan line, according to which Tithonus was a brother of Priam, both of them being sons of Laomedon; whereas Assaracus was a son of Tros and grandfather of Anchises.[10] The Homeric genealogy is as follows:



On this showing Assaracus was not the brother but the

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 425.
[2] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 141.
[3] Tibullus, i. 7. 21.
[4] Statius, *Silv.* i. 3. 5.
[5] Statius, *Silv.* iii. 1. 54.
[6] Horace, *Odes*, i. 17. 7 *sq.*
[7] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 13. 9 *sq.*
[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 904, with the note.
[9] Compare *Fasti*, i. 461.
[10] Homer, *Il.* xx. 231-239.

grand-uncle of Tithonus. Ovid may have followed a different authority, but more probably his memory slipped.

IV. 945. **there comes a goddess decked with garlands of a thousand varied flowers, and the stage enjoys a customary licence of mirth.**—Ovid is now about to sing of Flora, the Goddess of Flowers, whose worship appropriately began at the end of April and extended into May. She was a genuine old Italian goddess, not of flowers only, but of blooms and blossoms in general; the corn, the vines, the olives, the fruit-trees, and even honey, as the product of flowers, were all thought to be dependent on her favour.[1] The Sabine King Tatius is said to have dedicated an altar to her in Rome:[2] she had a special flamen (*flamen Florialis*) consecrated to her worship;[3] and the ancient priesthood of the Arval Brethren sacrificed to her in their sacred grove with such genuine old Roman deities as Janus, Jupiter, Juno, and Vesta.[4] Her worship extended to other parts of Italy. At Teanum in Apulia we hear of a flamen of Flora;[5] and the Sabines named a month after her (*mensis Flusaris*).[6]

In 238 B.C. or, according to another account, in 241 B.C., the crops failed, and the Sibylline books, being consulted, prescribed as a remedy that games should be celebrated in honour of Flora on the twenty-eighth of April, and that a temple should be built for the goddess. The divine command was executed under the direction of the plebeian aediles, Lucius and Marcus Publicius, the expense being defrayed out of the fines exacted from persons who had encroached on the public pasture-land.[7] At first the games were not annual, but a renewed failure of the corn, the vines, and the olives, in consequence of storms, hail, and rain,

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 261-272; note in the Praenestine calendar, *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 236, 317, "*Florae, quae rebus florescendis praeest*"; compare Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 23.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 74.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 45.

[4] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874), p. 146; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5047, 5048.

[5] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5007.

[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4906.

[7] Ovid, *Fasti* v. 277-294; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 286; Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49; Velleius Paterculus, i. 14; note in the Praenestine calendar under the twenty-eighth of April, *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 236, 317, "*Eodem die aedis Florae, quae rebus florescendis praeest, dedicata est propter sterilitatem frugum*".

warned the people that Flora was not to be thus trifled with, and accordingly the Senate decreed that the goddess should be kept in good humour by the celebration of her games every year.[1] From the ancient calendars we learn that under the Empire the games of Flora in the Circus lasted six days, from the twenty-eighth of April to the third of May inclusive.[2]

The temple of Flora, which was dedicated in 238 B.C., stood near the Circus Maximus[3] and therefore near the scene of the games. It may have been situated at the foot of the Aventine, at the lower end of the Publician Slope,[4] perhaps on the site of the present gardens of the monastery of S. Vincenzo dei Paoli.[5] There was also a temple, or perhaps chapel, of Rustic Flora on the Quirinal, near the house of the poet Martial.[6] It existed down at least to the fourth century of our era, for it is mentioned in the two descriptions of Roman topography which date from that century, the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia*.[7]

The title of Mother bestowed on Flora[8] bespeaks the high dignity and matronly character of the goddess. It is little to the credit of the learned Christian Father, Lactantius, that he stooped to retail a ribald and scandalous story about the august deity, how she had been a harlot who amassed a large fortune by the exercise of her profession and bequeathed her wealth to the Roman people, stipulating that a certain sum should be annually expended on games in honour of her birthday. The Senate, continues the pious scandal-monger, while it accepted the legacy, for the sake of decency turned the harlot into a goddess.[9] This odious calumny is an unhappy instance of the application of what the learned call the Euhemeristic method to theology; it consists in resolving any given god or goddess into a dead man or woman. That not a few deities are to be so resolved there can be no doubt,

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 295-330.
[2] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 317.
[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 293 *sq.*
[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 118, 155; A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, p. 95.
[6] Martial, v. 22. 3 *sq.*, vi. 27. 1 *sq.*
[7] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 549.
[8] Lucretius, v. 739; Cicero, *In Verrem*, v. 14. 36; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 183.
[9] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20.

but so far as we can judge Flora was not one of them. It was probably the licentious character of the theatrical performances in her honour which suggested to Lactantius, or his authority, the idea that Flora had been no better than she should be. Cato the younger is said to have withdrawn in disgust from the theatre rather than witness the indecent exposure of the actresses on the stage at the festival of Flora ; his withdrawal was greeted by the audience with thunders of applause.[1] But in justice to Flora we should bear in mind that in the ritual of deities of fertility deeds and words, which in ordinary life would be stigmatized as indecent and obscene, may have a serious significance as designed to promote, by sympathetic magic, the fruitfulness of the earth, of animals, and of men. So it may have been with the games of Flora ; they, like the games of so many other peoples,[2] may have been supposed to aid the vines and the olives to bud, the fruit-trees to put forth their gay blossoms, and the flowers to bloom in the meadows, with the hum of bees about them in the vernal sunshine.

IV. 949. **Vesta has been received in the home of her kinsman : so have the Fathers righteously decreed.**—When Augustus assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C. he should in strictness have taken up his official residence in the Regia or King's House close to the temple of Vesta in the Forum. But instead of going down to Vesta he made the goddess come up to him by instituting a chapel of Vesta in his house on the Palatine. To this exercise of imperial power Ovid has already alluded.[3] From a note in the Praenestine calendar we learn that the chapel and altar of Vesta were dedicated in the house of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus on the twenty-eighth of April, and that in consequence the day was proclaimed a public holiday by decree of the Senate.[4] Further, from a note in the Caeretan calendar it appears that an image of Vesta was dedicated in the Emperor's house on the same day.[5] It is to these events that Ovid refers in the present passage.

[1] Valerius Maximus, ii. 10. 8 ; compare Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* xcvii. (xvi. 2). 8.

[2] See notes on *Fasti*, iii. 189, iv. 679 (above, pp. 54 *sqq.*, 325 *sqq.*).

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 415 *sqq.*, with the note on 419 ; *Fasti*, vi. 257 *sq.*, with the note.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 236, 317.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 213, 317.

Here, as in a former passage,[1] the poet speaks of Augustus as a kinsman of Vesta, though the relationship at best was exceedingly distant.[2] Aeneas, with whom Augustus claimed kinship through his adoption into the Julian family, was popularly believed to have brought Vesta and her holy fire with him from Troy to Italy.[3]

IV. 951. **Phoebus owns part of the house.**—Ovid alludes to the famous temple of Apollo which Augustus built on the Palatine in immediate proximity to his own house. It included colonnades and a library of Greek and Latin authors. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* the Emperor mentions the temple among the other glories of his reign.[4] The temple was dedicated on the ninth of October, 28 B.C.[5] It was built of Carrara marble,[6] and contained some masterpieces of Greek sculpture.[7] Under the statue of Apollo in the temple Augustus deposited, in two gilt cases, the Sibylline books, or rather a selection of them, after making a bonfire of other prophetic books by nameless or obscure writers.[8] In his later years the Emperor often held meetings of the Senate in the temple.[9]

The fullest description of the temple, with its surrounding colonnade and sculptured decorations, is given by Propertius in a poem which he seems to have composed immediately after witnessing the ceremony of dedication, while his fancy still glowed with the recollection of the magnificent edifice in the first freshness of its glistering white marble. The colonnade which surrounded the temple was built of Punic marble (*giallo antico*) and between the columns stood statues of the daughters of Danaus. On the roof of the temple were two chariots of the Sun; the doors were of ivory, and on one of them was carved the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi, on the other the death of Niobe. The statue of Apollo in

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 425 *sq.* [2] See note on *Fasti*, iii. 425.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 527 *sq.*, iii. 29, vi. 227; *id.*, *Metamorph.* xv. 730 *sq.*; Propertius, v. (iv.) 4. 69; Lucan, ix. 992 *sq.*; Juvenal, iv. 61 *sq.*; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 65. 2.

[4] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 1 *sq.*, p. 91 ed. Hardy, pp. 22, 24 ed. Diehl[4]; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 81.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 331; Dio Cassius, liii. 1. 3.

[6] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 720.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 14, xxxvi. 24 *sq.*

[8] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. [9] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.

the temple represented the god standing in his singing robes between his mother Latona and his sister Diana; he held his lyre in his hand and his lips were parted as if in song. About the altar stood four oxen, the work of the great Greek sculptor Myron, images that seemed to live.[1]

From Pliny we learn that the image of Apollo in the temple was a work of the great Greek sculptor Scopas,[2] that the image of Latona was by Cephisodotus, son of Praxiteles,[3] and that the image of Diana was by Timotheus.[4]

The magnificent temple has vanished, and even its exact position on the Palatine hill is doubtful and disputed. Some hold that it stood on the western edge of the hill and occupied the platform which others would assign to the temple of Jupiter Victor.[5]

IV. 953. **Long live the laurels of the Palatine! Long live the house wreathed with oaken boughs!**—Ovid elsewhere alludes to the crowns of laurel and oak which hung on the door of Augustus's house on the Palatine.[6]

IV. 954. **A single house holds three immortal gods.**—The third "eternal god" is of course the Emperor, who with Phoebus Apollo and Vesta made up the Trinity.

[1] Propertius, ii. 31 (iii. 23 ed. Paley). Punic or Numidian marble is now known as *giallo antico*, "old yellow". It is "pale yellow, flushed with deeper yellow, and finely veined with purple". See H. W. Pullen, *Handbook of Ancient Roman Marbles* (London, 1894), p. 54.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 25.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 24.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 32.

[5] O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 146 *sqq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 66 *sqq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 142, 144-147; L. Homo, *La Rome antique*, pp. 51 *sq.* As to the temple of Jupiter Victor see Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 621, with the note.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 614, with the note.

END OF VOL. III

Printed in Great Britain by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

WELLS BINDERY INC.
WALTHAM, MASS.
AUG. 1970

WHEATON COLLEGE -- NORTON, MA 02766
WHEE PA6519.F2 1929 v.3
Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri sex :
151398
3 6307 00128843 7

DATE DUE

DEC 9 '70
MAY 3 '78
JAN 31 '83
2-HOUR RESERVE
3/25 9
3/27 ONL

GAYLORD 234 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PA
6519
F2
1929
v. 3

151398